

# EASTERN WORLD

S.E.ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC



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#### PAKISTAN GOES INDUSTRIAL

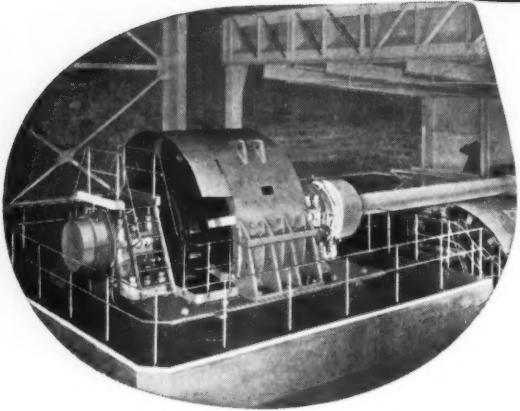
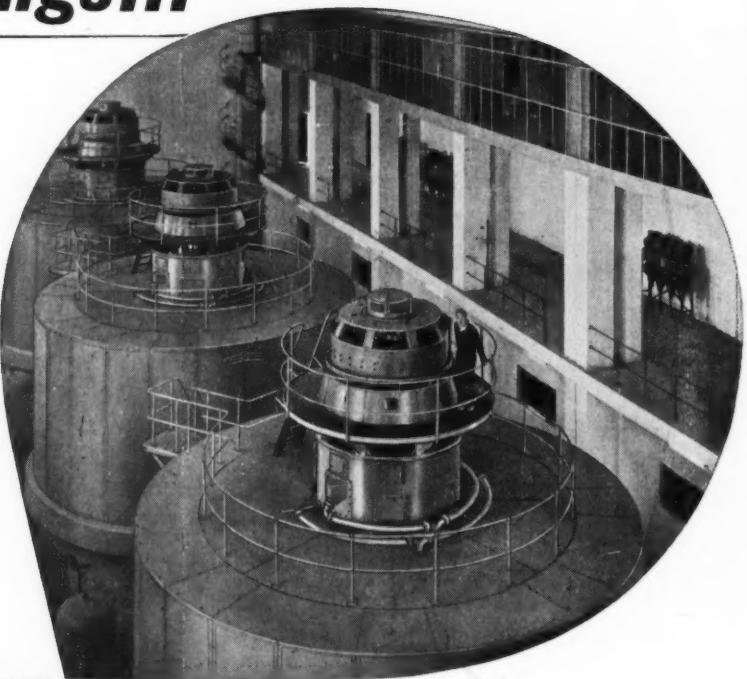
NEIL P. Ruzic

ONE COPY 1  
TWO SHILLINGS

(left) Prow figure of a ritual boat from Melanesia. Illustration from "Oceanic Art" by H. Tischner and F. Hewicker (Thames & Hudson)



*so many things...~*



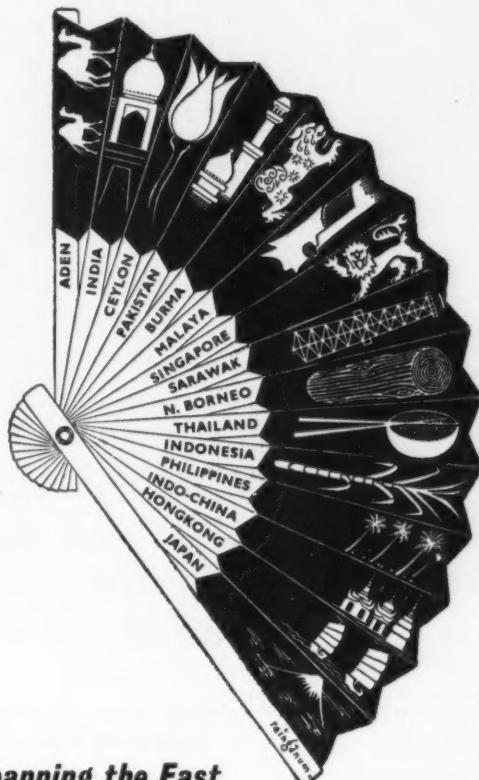
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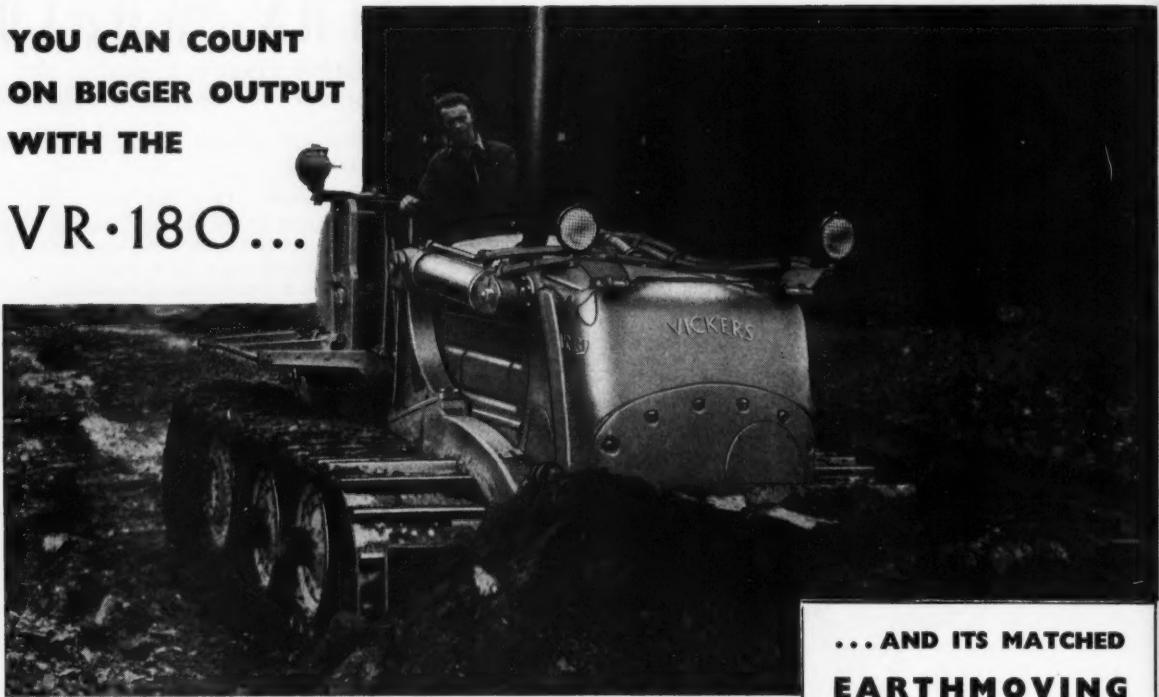
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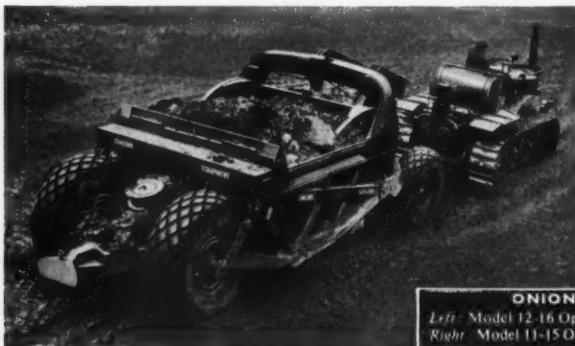
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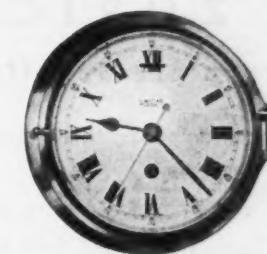
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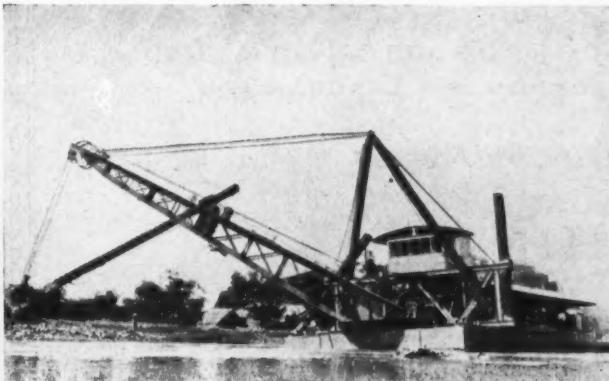
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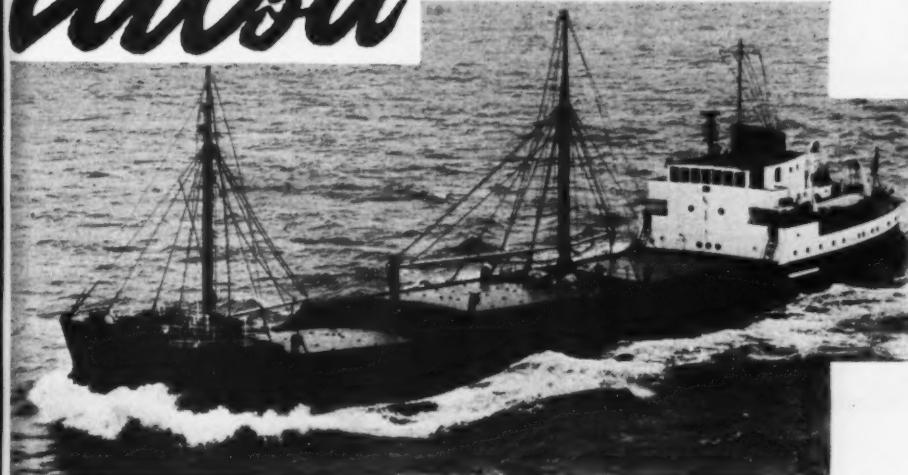
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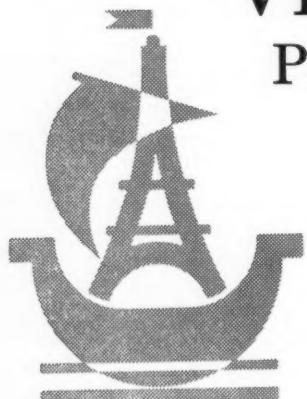
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# EASTERN WORLD

London March 1955

## The Formosa Issue

**A**LTHOUGH the situation in the Formosa Strait appears to be less inflammatory than at the time of the Tachens evacuation, in fact the real trouble is yet to begin. It seemed from reports and statements of American politicians and military men that China would attack the Tachens or harass the evacuation thereby coming into open conflict with the American fleet. There was no logical reason why she should have done such a thing. Her contention is that Formosa and all the off-shore islands are part of Continental China, and if the Kuomintang were to leave all of them, with or without US help, the situation would be resolved.

There has been, in all the talk about the issue at stake, some misplaced emphasis. The main discussion has been around the off-shore islands as if they were alone the territories about which the United States might come into armed conflict with China. Even if the Kuomintang were to withdraw from them this would not alter Peking's claim to Formosa itself, and at some future time conflict between the US and China is likely unless the eventual handing over of Formosa to the Peking Government is settled by peaceful means.

The off-shore islands are important only in so far as they are considered as part of Formosa, and because in the immediate future they are more vulnerable to invasion by China. The overall bone of contention is Formosa, for if it were not, there would be no question of off-shore islands, and in the larger context little is served by discussion of whether Quemoy and the Matsus should or should not be defended by America. The fundamental issue is whether Formosa should be defended by America at all.

There are two main reasons for the United States wanting to hold that Pacific island. First, as a bastion in their Pacific defence chain which runs from the Aleutians, through Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines. This is envisaged less as a defence of the American West Coast than as containment of Communism by ringing China and Russia with airfields. In a world which is, of necessity, moving towards coexistence this is creating long term thorny problems rather than lessening them. Although opinion in America considers it worth while to hang on to Formosa, their right to be there will be, indeed now is, questioned by their friends and allies. For, surely, there is no question that it is wrong for one country, in times of peace, to hold another's territory by force. The second, and most erroneous, reason is that they think the abandon-

ment of Formosa would appear to Asians in general as a weakness because it is the physical and moral rallying point of all those, Chinese and others, who oppose the Peking regime. It would be, so the argument goes, bad to retreat before the pressure of Communism in Asia : psychologically it would do America harm. To state this seriously is to show how out of touch American opinion is with Asian feelings. Syngman Rhee, some Filipinos and Siamese might be upset, but the majority of uncommitted Asia would consider it a great act of statesmanship for the United States to find a graceful way out of Formosa. It would undoubtedly increase US prestige in Asia.

Everyone can now find legal pros and cons to prove or disprove that Formosa is part of China, but these arguments would never have arisen if the defeated Government in a civil war had not taken refuge there, and if the US had not now come to regard Formosa as part of her defence perimeter. At the Cairo and Potsdam conferences during and after the last war it was agreed that all territories which the Japanese had taken from China should be returned to her when the war was over. Manchuria as well as Formosa was included, but no one has questioned the Peking Government's legal right to Manchuria. And if the defeated Kuomintang had retired to some remote part of Sikang or Yunan, would those areas have become any less a part of China than they are now ? After the revolution a large section of the Nationalist army under General Li Mi established itself on China's borders in the Shan States of Burma, but not for a moment did anyone try to find a legal argument to prove that the territory belonged to the Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

It is necessary to state again that sooner or later Formosa must become part of mainland China, and the task of the nations now is to seek a way in which this can be done without bloodshed. It must be obvious to the Communist Chinese, as it is to the rest of the world, that this cannot be done immediately. For the Chinese to attempt to take it by force at this time would almost certainly lead to a war with America. If there is an alternative to force it must always be taken.

The evacuation of the remaining off-shore islands must be the next step so that, in the familiar phrase, two hundred miles of water can be put between the contending factions. Only very few in America still cling to the ridiculous notion that Chiang has a chance to reconquer the mainland, but the argument for leaving Quemoy and the Matsus in Nationalist hands as a jumping off point has switched to one of finding them necessary for the defence of Formosa. And it seems that this dangerous military point of view is to be upheld by the State Department, for Mr. Dulles has said that he doubted whether the surrender of the coastal islands would serve the cause of peace or freedom. This seems to frustrate all efforts to clear up the inflammatory situation of the islands.

For Mr. Dulles to talk of Peking's aggressiveness in the same breath as saying that the United States will hold Formosa and might well defend Quemoy and the Matsus, is almost too ludicrously imperialistic to be true. Two

hundred years ago a great western power could say they would hold a piece of annexed Asian territory and get away with it, but in the middle of the twentieth century it cannot be justified on any grounds whatever. Because America is aware that world opinion is weighted against United States defence of Formosa she is not anxious for the matter to be discussed at a conference outside the United Nations, where she holds almost undisputed sway.

It should have come as no surprise that China refused to attend a discussion on Formosa in the United Nations. Why should she present herself at the meetings of an organisation that has spared no effort in the last six years to exclude her, simply to discuss a situation of tension which was brought about by none of her doing? China has for years been saying she will take Formosa, with little notice taken of it by the world. The delicate situation in the Strait cannot be attributed to that. Nationalist raids and gun-firing followed by American interference brought the matter to a head. In all fairness it should be recognised that the Peking Government exercised great restraint while American ships and aircraft were operating dangerously close to her territory. No one last month, certainly not the British man in the street, had any illusions as to where the blame would rest if a shooting war had started in the China sea. Condemnation of American interference in other people's affairs was on the majority of lips.

It is true that Chou En-lai has constantly reiterated the Chinese intention of taking Formosa, and we must expect it to be said again, but it has recently been stated no more often, and no more aggressively, than the less defensible American insistence that Formosa will not be given up without a fight. It is all very well for Mr. Dulles to hint that the US might be more favourably disposed towards a discussion if Peking stopped saying she will take Formosa by force. Mr. Dulles does not seem very disposed to put a brake on his statements.

Meanwhile plans for a conference seem likely to grow out of the original proposal by the Soviet Union. It is easy to see the point of view of Russia and China that the discredited Kuomintang emigrés have little right to voice their opinion on world issues, particularly as the decision on Formosa, in fact, rests with the US and not with Chiang.

It would be desirable, as the British Foreign Secretary has said, to let things settle down a bit in the China Sea before a conference is called, but as long as America takes the line that she will remain in strength off the China coast, Peking will react. There is no doubt that Chou En-lai is being contacted and requested to make China's demands on Formosa a lot less tough, so that the issue can be thrashed out round a conference table. At the same time it must be made clear to Washington that the main responsibility for easing the tension rests with them and that if a shooting war flares up over Formosa or the islands, her allies will have no part of it.

One thing is certain : it will not be the task of a future conference to decide to whom Formosa belongs, it will be to find how best the Peking Government can take it over peacefully.

## Commonwealth Unanimity

ONE of the most welcome, and perhaps surprising aspects of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings in London last month was the degree of unanimity on world issues. On the question of Formosa everyone was apparently able to recognise the awkwardness of the situation into which American policy had put the British Commonwealth, while at the same time seeing how difficult it would be to dissuade President Eisenhower from committing America to the all out defence of Formosa in the face of opposition to such dissuasion from his own Congress. The conference was able to indulge in a little *Realpolitik*, and the fact that Mr. Nehru, whose views on the situation in the Far East are well known, was able to sit silent on some of the occasions when the seemingly unalterable factors of hamstrung American policy were discussed is indicative of the unanimity.

The British Commonwealth seems peculiarly well fitted for the role of mediator in many of the disputes between the two great colossi of the world, but the differences of opinion within the Commonwealth on international affairs have appeared to nullify what effect might have been achieved. It seems apparent that Foreign Office thinking in Britain has recently moved closer to the general Delhi line on Asian affairs, and is, if anything, closer to the Indian point of view than to the Australian. Of all the Commonwealth countries, Australia without doubt shares the American view of Far Eastern problems most closely, but even Mr. Menzies must have been impressed by Mr. Nehru's common sense approach to relations with China.

The Asian members of the Commonwealth are agreed that the entry of Communist China into the United Nations is the key to the lessening of tension in the Far East. The degree to which this is felt can be judged from the attitude of the Ceylon Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, who despite his adamant opposition to all things Communist, still agrees that to have China at the UN is fundamental. New Zealand's initiative in the United Nations over the Formosa dispute produced a sensible resolution, and this provides a pointer to Mr. Holland's increasingly enlightened attitude towards China's place in world councils.

Altogether it does seem that if a few of the obvious differences of opinion between the Governments can be smoothed out, the Commonwealth can become a vehicle whose good offices could be used to curb the excesses of both the Communists and the United States. This, of course, presupposes that inter-Commonwealth problems, like South Africa's racial policy, Kashmir, Malaya and so on, do not widen any of the differences of view of world affairs as a whole.

## Amnesty in Malaya

THE initiative of Tunku Abdul Rahman, President of the United Malay National Organisation in proposing a general amnesty for the terrorists in Malaya, and the courage of Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan, President of the Malayan Chinese Association, in saying he would go into the jungle to discuss an amnesty with them, should be

applauded. The Government, as would be expected, opposed the idea of a general amnesty. What is the alternative?

There is no end in sight to the five-year-old "emergency," and the cost of it cannot be borne by the administration for ever. The arduous operations by the army in the Malayan jungles have brought a number of surrenders, but the core of the problem is as far out of reach as ever it was. The Government's handling of villagers during the five years of activity has built up resentment among a great many people, and there have been times during the emergency when sympathy for the terrorists in the villages has increased as a result of Government curfews and resettlements.

The terrorists cannot be beaten, and they in their turn cannot achieve an overthrow of the Government. The answer is to get them out of the jungle and try to rationalise their grievances and opposition, or to give them, as the MCA President suggests, an opportunity to sail away in a ship to the country of their inspiration. After the elections in the middle of this year which the UMNO-MCA Alliance are certain to win, the Government will have to agree to a general amnesty. They could hardly refuse in the face of popular pressure.

No authoritative person has yet talked to the leadership of the terrorists, no one can say in detail why they are in violent opposition. It is certain that they are ninety

per cent. Chinese and that they are Communists, well versed in the tenets of Marxism and Maoism, but the reason for them taking to the jungle goes deeper than their political colour. Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan should be allowed to parley with them as soon as possible, taking with him an offer which they would find reasonable to accept. He is a man they could trust.

The danger of allowing the emergency in Malaya to continue when there seems a hope of bringing it to an end is that with SEATO now in existence there is every excuse under its clauses, by which Britain is bound, for making Malaya a testing ground for the pact's effectiveness in expunging Communist subversion. The least this kind of undertaking would do is to retard the move towards self-government in the Colony. At worst, if the jungle forces received outside help, the country could become a smaller, but no less bloody, Indo-China.

The prospect is alarming, and it may appear remote, but it is not in the realms of fantasy. After all, the SEATO pact would not have been created if those that inspired it did not think it could be used to some purpose. What they had in mind was just such a situation as exists in Malaya.

The best insurance against such a move taking place is to remove the excuse. A general amnesty seems to be the only solution that would satisfy any eventuality in Malaya. Tunku Rahman and Sir Cheng-lock have the right idea. The Government would be well advised to accept it.



# WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

*By Harold Davies, M.P.*

JOHN MORLEY in a discourse on the "Golden Art of Truth-Telling" said: "Politics is a field where action is one long second best and where the choice constantly lies between two blunders." This dictum seems to be fully justified by the Government's answers to Questions on the Far East. Labour spokesmen above and below the gangway have harassed Eden with query after query in an effort to estimate policy in Asia.

Viscount Samuel, in the Lords, thought that it was necessary to remind the Government that Britain's policy for over twenty years has been not to intervene in the civil wars of China. Opposition Leader, Attlee, too came out as spokesman not only of his Party but for the majority of reasonable people in Britain when he urged a 3-point plan for Formosa, namely:

1. To remove Chiang Kai-shek from Formosa.
2. To neutralise Formosa and take it out of the American defence chain.
3. Let the people of Formosa decide their destiny.

The Leader of the Opposition was forthright in saying, "This matter of Formosa and the islands there is an intervention in a civil war. It is purely an action by the United States."

Most of the Labour Members found their Leader's straightforward speeches giving a unity to the Party. Labour Members are not prepared to follow an adventure in Asia "at all costs." On the other hand, Herbert Morrison does not go so far as Attlee in his criticism of American policy over Formosa. The Opposition in both Houses have indicated to the Government that they are anxious to support the efforts to bring fighting to an end and all Parties hoped that the Commonwealth Conference would offer suggestions of approach to this end.

When Sir Anthony Eden told us, "This is one of the most difficult positions that I have ever seen in international affairs," our minds went back to the days of Munich and the Spanish War. While official spokesmen told the House that Britain's obligations are those established under the United Nations, there is no doubt that these obligations might be increased via the ANZUS and now the Manila Pact. Gaitskell, speaking from Labour's front bench, asked that the relevant parts of the ANZUS and Manila Treaties be published. In a long series of Supplementary Questions information given by the Foreign Secretary showed that he was reluctant to make a complete statement on Britain's position.

In the Lobbies speculation was rife on Sir Anthony Eden's answer about our Asian commitments. The Foreign Secretary said, "I can see no circumstances in which if Australia and New Zealand were involved in danger, Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom would not be at their side." Paradoxically, that means

that we are really in the ANZUS Treaty although we were not invited to join. Readers of EASTERN WORLD may remember that when Labour was in power the then Lord Chancellor said that our resources to the last shilling were available in case of an attack on Australia or New Zealand. But if the United States persists in an amazonian policy in Formosa, what then are the consequences to the British Commonwealth?

The Manila Treaty, while defining the "treaty area" also implies under Article IV that the Parties to the treaty can amend it, by unanimous agreement, to include any state or territory. While it is true, as Stan Awberry (Labour) found by question, that up to now only Siam has deposited its instrument of ratification, there is little doubt that pressure will be brought to get the Philippines to ratify it during or before the Bangkok Conference.

The general drift of opinion on both sides of the House seems to be that the dramatic changes of leadership in the USSR foreshadow a tougher Soviet foreign policy. Despite this, Members believe that Russia will do its utmost to prevent a full-scale war in China. The world is so entangled with pacts and treaties that it would be almost impossible to localise a war against China.

Aneurin Bevan challenged the use of Hong Kong for the repair or refuelling of warships engaged in operations against the Central People's Government of China. It renders Hong Kong vulnerable. He added, "Is this not an exceedingly dangerous and provocative action against the Peking Government?" The fact is we are in Hong Kong under treaty arrangements and it is a strategic position which we could not defend. Despite the Tory cries of "No!" some of us feel that it is foolish to blind ourselves to this reality. All efforts by Labour's front bench to spike down Eden on the question of Hong Kong, Quemoy or Matsu failed. "Let diplomacy do its work," was his answer.

The Commons are aware that the first shot on China may well be the point of no return and consequently high hopes are placed on any efforts that Nehru may be able to make.

Because the Chinese Communists did not interfere with the evacuation of Tachen, we breathe a little more freely. This indicates a willingness to exercise patience. We see too, whether we like it or not, that we cannot isolate the problems of Europe from those of Asia. I found, during a recent visit to Paris, as I find here, that political opinion believes that we could not localise a war in China. Europe and Asia flourish together or they perish together. This is where we look for Eisenhower to hold back his China Lobby. To quote Roosevelt, "The American people have a rendezvous with destiny—Let the destiny be peace!"

# ASIA IN WASHINGTON

*By David C. Williams (Washington)*

SINCE President Truman first proposed American aid to Asia, Africa, and Latin America as "Point Four" of his 1949 Inaugural Address, Congressional enthusiasm for it has never been at a lower ebb. By action of the last Congress, the Foreign Operations Administration, responsible for administering American economic and military aid, is to cease operations on June 30. Much brave talk from high Administration figures about the importance of economic competition with the Communists has not prevailed against those, led by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, whose main objective is to balance the budget.

In its present mood, Congress seems unlikely to spur the Administration into bolder and more imaginative action. In retrospect, it seems clear that Point Four advocates committed a strategic blunder in selling it to Congress as a "cheap" programme—in many cases sincerely, for many enthusiasts actually believed that American "know-how" plus simple and cheap gadgets like iron points for wooden plows could transform Asian and African economies. And, unfortunately, the most eloquent Administration advocate of increased economic aid—Harold Stassen, head of FOA—has antagonised many Democrats who suspect him of desiring to use it as a vehicle for his towering political ambitions.

In order to stimulate popular support for the economic aid programme and give a fresh mandate to Congress, a conference of two hundred people representing more than fifty different organisations was summoned to Washington. It was intended as an opportunity for the leaders of many popular organisations, ranging from the trade unions to the League of Women voters and many churches, to sit down for two days with American and United Nations experts in the field and exchange ideas about present problems and future prospects.

There was in the National Workshop on World Economic and Social Development (as the conference styled itself) a heartening emphasis upon the peaceful rather than the military aspects of American foreign policy. Sometimes it was carried to extremes, as by the people who insisted that nothing substantial could be done in the way of economic aid until a large measure of disarmament was achieved. Quite unconsciously, these people echoed the line taken by the Administration, which since President Eisenhower's April 16, 1953, speech has held to the "either/or" policy that the United States will put up money either for military defence or increased economic aid, but not both. With a military budget running at nearly \$40,000m., the Administration has used this as its official excuse for not contributing \$80m. to the proposed "Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development" (SUNFED).

There was, in fact, general agreement that increased economic aid need not wait upon effective disarmament,

desirable as the latter objective might be in its own right. The majority also felt that, while military measures against the threat of Communist aggression were essential, the military aspects of American policy had been over-emphasised in recent years, largely in an effort to extract economic aid from a recalcitrant Congress under the guise of "defence support."

The question of the desirable magnitude of American economic aid provoked an interesting debate. The enthusiasts, thinking in terms of the great capabilities of the American economy, talked of several thousand million dollars a year, as they have always done. The experts, particularly those who had served in the Government agencies administering economic aid, were far more cautious. Even so apparently simple a problem as using America's food surplus bristles with difficulties. Dumped on the Asian market, it could easily depress the price of rice to the point where many millions of peasants and some Asian Governments would face disaster. One of the more imaginative proposals aired at the conference was that it should be used to create a cattle and hog feeding programme in Asia, thus enriching present protein-poor diets without competing directly with Asian producers of starch foods such as rice.

Industrialisation, ardently desired by many countries, presents complex problems. Some, like India, possess the sort of civil service which is adequate to administer the transition to a modern economy; others do not. Managers and technicians are almost everywhere inadequate to the needs. Lacking the needed skilled personnel, even the planning of projects tends to lag, let alone their execution. In some countries the ruling class actually opposes effective economic aid, fearing that the resulting changes would imperil their privileged position.

Even the experts, however, could agree that in many countries much more American economic aid could be constructively used than the Administration is now giving or planning to give. They also agreed that, as the under-developed countries acquire a more adequate civil service and a stock of trained managers and technicians, the amount of aid which they could effectively use can increase steadily, perhaps even spectacularly.

Also evident among the enthusiasts was a strong desire to use economic aid as a lever to force economic and political reforms upon the recipient countries—particularly land reform. Mere economic growth, they maintained, was not sufficient to ensure the development of democratic institutions—and they cited pre-war Japan as an example. Here also the experts were more cautious. Stanley Andrews, Point Four Administrator under President Truman, warned:

"People, especially new and sovereign nations, do not like to be pushed around and told what they should do by

outsiders, no matter how benevolent and well intended the bossing may be."

Actually, this is not in reality an "either/or" proposition. The administrators of American economic aid are seldom in a position to force a recipient Government to adopt a given policy—say land reform—but they are often in a position to influence decisions. No matter how often rebuffed, the enthusiasts will go on insisting that, whatever power or influence the United States has, as a provider of economic aid, be used to develop and strengthen democratic institutions rather than merely to prop up reactionary Governments.

Before dispersing, the conference decided upon a plan of action. First, they want this Congress to restore the

American contribution to the UN Technical Assistance Programme, withheld by the last Congress. Next, they want the United States to end its boycott of SUNFED or similar programmes for internationally administered economic aid. Next, they will seek continuity in the economic aid programme, so that it can be planned for a period of years ahead rather than be subject to the annual whims of Congress.

Whether these aims will be achieved will depend upon the degree of public support that can be aroused for them. The enthusiasm of the participants in the conference, coming from organisations representing many millions of Americans, gives assurance that a real effort will be made.

## KOREA, CHINA AND FORMOSA

*By Sir John Pratt*

**I**N January, 1950, President Truman decided to put an end to the furious arguments then going on in Washington about the strategic value of Formosa and to kill once for all the idea—as fatuous as it was immoral—that bases on Formosa were essential for the security of America. Statements were issued by the President and Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State, explaining that by the terms of surrender imposed on Japan, Formosa had become once more a province of China and that the US had no desire to establish military bases on the island and would not pursue a policy which might lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

Up to December, 1948, Truman had followed a bipartisan foreign policy. Foster Dulles, the Republican, was the US representative at the United Nations, and it was under pressure from Foster Dulles that the United Nations set up a terrorist police state under Syngman Rhee in South Korea. The elections held in South Korea in May, 1948, were one of the major scandals of our time. Much property was destroyed, 10,000 rioters were "processed" in the Courts and 589 persons lost their lives. Nevertheless the UN Commission, which had been appointed to supervise the elections, duly reported that the results represented the freely expressed will of the electorate and in December, 1948, the General Assembly passed a resolution that the Government of the Republic of Korea, as it was called, was the "only legal government in Korea" which was interpreted as meaning that it was legally entitled to exercise authority in North Korea.

This coincided with the Presidential election in America which resulted in the quite unexpected defeat of the Republican candidate and the re-election of Truman by such an overwhelming majority that the Democrats were encouraged to frame their own policies in Asia without first consulting the leaders of the Republican party. The Kuomintang in China had sunk to incredible depths of corruption and incompetence and had reduced the people to unprecedented misery and despair. All the government departments in Washington were agreed that the policy of trying to check the spread of Communism in Asia by backing such men as Chiang Kai-shek in China and Syngman Rhee in Korea was having the opposite effect to that intended and was bringing great discredit on America. By August, 1949, the State Department had prepared and published its famous White Paper on China—a volume of 1,054 pages—which showed that in the four years that had elapsed since the surrender of

Japan, Chiang Kai-shek had received two thousand million dollars the whole of which had been embezzled and that his generals had received arms and supplies to the value of one thousand million dollars the whole of which had been sold to the Communists against whom they were supposed to be fighting. By this time the issue was no longer in doubt. The Nationalist administration over the greater part of China disintegrated and disappeared, the remnant of the Kuomintang fled with their loot to Formosa (where they continued to receive the sums voted by Congress for the ECA programme in China) and on October 1, 1949, the Communists proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China and set up their capital at Peking.

The State Department called a Round Table Conference which was attended by all the leading officials, business men and scholars whose careers had brought them into contact with Chinese affairs. The Conference, which lasted three days (October 6, 7 and 8), was confidential but this classification was subsequently cancelled and a roneoed verbatim record of the discussions has recently found its way into this country. It is an interesting and illuminating document. With two important exceptions there was almost unanimous agreement that the process of disentanglement from Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists should be carried forward as rapidly as possible in order to prepare public opinion for early recognition of the new Government in Peking.

By this time, however, the China Lobby was conducting a furious campaign against the policy envisaged by the White Paper. They were well supplied with funds and were helped by copies of "top secret" documents communicated to them by General MacArthur in Tokyo who was determined to do everything in his power to prevent Formosa falling into the hands of the Communists. President Truman came down heavily on the side of the State Department and on December, 1949, the National Security Council—the highest policy making organ in the US Government—decided that Formosa was of no interest to America. Truman then issued the Presidential statement of January 5, 1950, and, on the same day, Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State, "at the request and by direction of the President," held a Press conference to explain the reasons for the policy the President had announced.

At the Round Table Conference in October, 1949, the views of the China Lobby had been pressed with much vigour by Harold Stassen :

"It is of vital importance for America, he said, to prevent the Communist consolidation of Asia. It was unthinkable, therefore, to recognise the Communist Government in China as this would place the new Government with a seat on the Security Council. Formosa is an important strategic area for our own outer perimeter. Formosa is still in an uncertain legal position because when the war ended China was only given the right to go on Formosa to disarm the Japanese. There had been no peace treaty, no decision handing Formosa to China. The legal situation as to Formosa is an uncertain one and an undecided one. In view of that fact and in view of the picture in China I feel that we ought to ask the United Nations to take the position that an attack on Formosa would not be countenanced at this time. Obviously the United Nations would not take such action under the veto of Russia. We should then announce that we consider Formosa a very vital part of our perimeter and that we could not permit an exterior armed assault on Formosa."

General Wedemeyer was unable to attend the Conference but the Chair read a letter in which he expressed the view that, though it was not practical to provide large scale military aid to the Nationalists, every effort should be made to restrict and harass the military and economic activities of the Communists by providing material aid to "Chinese leaders, communities, provinces or separate areas."

The statements of January 5, 1950, were carefully worded in such a way as to make it difficult for any self-respecting person, with the honour of his country at heart, to urge such views again.

"The traditional US policy toward China," said the President, "calls for international respect for the territorial integrity of China . . . Formosa should be restored to the Republic of China . . . Formosa was surrendered to General Chiang Kai-shek and for the past four years the US and other allied powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island."

"When Formosa was made a province of China," said the Secretary of State, "nobody raised any lawyer's doubts about that. Now in the opinion of some the situation is changed. They believe that the forces now in control of the mainland of China are not friendly to us and therefore they want to say 'well, we have to wait for a peace treaty.' We did not wait for a treaty on Korea. We did not wait for a treaty on the Kuriles. We did not wait for a treaty on the islands over which we have trusteeship. Whatever may be the legal situation the United States of America is not going to quibble on any lawyer's words about the integrity of the position . . . The underlying factors are not in that area (of military strategy). They have to do with the fundamental integrity of the US and with maintaining in the world the belief that when the US takes a position it sticks to that position and does not change it by reason of transitory expedient or advantage on its part . . . The world must believe that we stand for principle and that we are decent and honourable people and that we do not forward words, as propagandists do in other countries, to serve their advantage only to throw them overboard when some change in events makes the position difficult for us."

This gallant attempt to persuade the world that the Americans are a decent and honourable people proved a dismal failure. The agitation by the China Lobby became more furious than ever and it was accompanied by large scale bombing of the mainland of China by the Nationalist forces on Formosa. Senator McCarthy started his first and most successful witch hunt in which he declared that the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek in China was not due to corruption and incompetence but to the treachery of the 205 Communists who were employed in the State Department. The free world looked on aghast while he inflamed the American people with a "wave of fear and hysteria on an unbelievable scale." He was supported by the leaders of the Republican party, and, by April, 1950, Truman felt that he had no option but to agree to carry out the policy he had rejected in January : China was not to be allowed either to take possession of Formosa or to become a member of the United Nations ;

## Collector's Treasure

This strange coconut spoon comes from New Guinea. The handle is a fetish figure, the features being filled in with powdered chalk.

★ From the Rieser Collection

★



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## LIPTON'S TEA Connoisseur's Pleasure

both China and Russia were to be excluded from the negotiations for a peace treaty with Japan ; and Formosa, Korea and Japan were to be included in America's line of bases in the Pacific.

As regards Korea the State Department believed that this could be effected merely by "taking the wraps" off Syngman Rhee and turning him loose to establish his "Assembly given authority" over North Korea. General MacArthur and the officers of the Korean Military Advisory Group had taken great pains to convince Washington that the South Korean army was the finest army in Asia, that one South Korean Division was more than a match for two North Korean Divisions, that Syngman Rhee could conquer North Korea with air and naval support alone, and that it would not be necessary to send American land forces to liberate the North Koreans from what Foster Dulles called the "cruel embrace of the Communists."

Elections for a new South Korean National Assembly held on May 30, 1950, resulted in an overwhelming majority opposed to Syngman Rhee, and the North Koreans started broadcasting a plan for the peaceful unification of the country by means of a conference and negotiations. It seemed certain that within a few weeks Syngman Rhee would at last be thrown out of office and that the Koreans by their own efforts would find the remedy for the two frightful evils inflicted on them by the United Nations : the division of the country at the 38th Parallel and the terrorist police state in South Korea.

The Americans therefore had little time to spare. Early in June the South Korean army was alerted and lined up along the 38th Parallel, and supplies were collected in the area between the Parallel and Seoul. Foster Dulles and the two Defence Chiefs—Omar Bradley and Louis Johnson—then flew out to Tokyo for a final conference with MacArthur on the problem of bases. The Defence Chiefs flew back to Washington on June 24 with a

memorandum from MacArthur in which he explained that if Formosa were included in the line of bases, America could dominate with air power the coast of Asia from Vladivostock to Singapore, but if Formosa were not included the defence of America would be pushed back to the coast of California. He had been pressing these views for the last six months, but the memorandum acquired some notoriety for it was one of the "top secret" documents that MacArthur disclosed to the Press at a moment when it seemed desirable that opinion should be mobilised against the Communists.

Some time before dawn on Sunday, June 25, 1950, the South Korean army crossed the 38th Parallel at several places and captured the town of Haeju some miles north on the road to Pyongyang. The North Koreans were taken completely by surprise. Their base of supplies and more than half their army were on the Yalu river 200 miles away but, with the divisions available, they staged a counter attack which drove the invaders back to the 38th Parallel. Elated with victory they then drove on into South Korea. As General MacArthur explained later, "at one initial stroke this North Korean army had a new supply base in the area between the 38th Parallel and Seoul which enabled them to press south with the full strength of their base immediately behind them. They no longer had to rely on the long distance from the Yalu to get their supplies down."

About 8 hours after the outbreak of hostilities—9.26 p.m. June 24 (11.26 a.m. June 25, Korean time)—the State Department received a telegram from Muccio, their Ambassador at Seoul, reporting on the fighting which was now taking place south of the 38th Parallel. The United States Government was in a difficult position. This was not an attack by one country on another but a civil war to which the concept of aggression does not apply. The South Korean Government, the alleged victim of aggression, had made no appeal to the United Nations and no report had been received from the UN Commission (UNCOK) at Seoul. All they had to go on was a rumour published in the Press that the North Korean radio had broadcast a declaration of war.

Trygve Lie, the Secretary General of the UN saved the situation. Shortly before midnight he received an urgent telephone call from Hickerson of the State Department who told him that Muccio, US Ambassador in Seoul, had reported that the North Koreans had suddenly attacked at daybreak. Muccio was merely passing on reports received from the South Korean army and from the Korean Military Advisory Group, but Trygve Lie immediately replied on the telephone that the Security Council would have to take immediate action as this was a major violation of the United Nations Charter. Mr. Hickerson warned him that Security Council action should be in response to *data* provided by an impartial UN source rather than by an interested state and the Secretary-General accordingly cabled to the UN Commission asking for an immediate report on the situation.

The meeting of the Security Council was fixed for 2 p.m. June 25, and Trygve Lie spent the intervening time discussing the situation with three delegations which seemed doubtful: India, Egypt and Norway. In his book he makes the following illuminating remarks :

"I believe I may say without risking any offence that my views influenced the Indian delegation as well as the delegate of Egypt to vote for the resolution which was adopted that Sunday afternoon. When later they had time to receive instructions from home Egypt and then India retreated to a policy of abstaining on votes of support for the United Nations action in Korea."

The telegram from UNCOK arrived at Lake Success at noon on June 25, 1950. This is the famous telegram S/1496

which was suppressed by the British Government in the White Paper, Cmd. 8078, which was laid before Parliament in October, 1950. It provided none of the evidence required to support a verdict of "guilty" against the North Koreans. The North Korean radio, it reported, declared that the South Koreans had invaded during the night and that the People's army had been instructed to repulse the invading forces by a decisive counter attack ; briefing on the situation by President Syngman Rhee was to the effect that these allegations were not true and that the North Koreans had launched attacks at about 4 a.m. It was not true that the North Koreans had broadcast a declaration of war and in any case Syngman Rhee had no intention of appealing to the United Nations. The Commission therefore suggested that action might be taken under Article 99 of the UN Charter under which "The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security."

Trygve Lie decided to brazen it out that this telegram was ample justification for a verdict of guilty against the North Koreans.

"I resolved, he says, to take up the Commission's suggestion because this to me was clear cut aggression against a creation of the United Nations and because the response of the Security Council would be more certain and more in the spirit of the Organisation as a whole were the Secretary-General to take the lead."

When the Security Council met at 2 o'clock he made the opening speech.

"My statement," he said, "labelled the North Koreans the aggressors anticipating similar action by the Security Council. The US delegate took the same line : the facts, he said, were all in UNCOK's telegram S/1496 : this wholly illegal and unprovoked attack by North Korean forces was armed aggression against a State which the United Nations itself had brought into being ; therefore he proposed a resolution that 'the Security Council, noting with grave concern the armed invasion of the Republic of Korea by armed forces from North Korea determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace'."

The Yugoslav Delegate opposed this resolution on the ground that the telegram from the UN Commission S/1496 did not enable the Security Council to "pass judgement on the merits of the case or assess the final and definite responsibility of the parties involved." He proposed therefore that the Security Council should for the time being order or call for a cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of troops at the same time continuing the investigation of the case. One form of such investigation would obviously be the hearing of a representative of the accused party." This proposal was rejected and the North Koreans were condemned without a hearing and without any attempt to obtain evidence as to the origin of the hostilities.

That same evening, June 25, the Seventh Fleet was sent to cordon off Formosa and before a week had passed the United Nations, including Great Britain, were drawn into one of the most savage wars in history, a war in which Korea has been almost totally destroyed.

At this time our role in world affairs was based on the belief that England must at all costs follow the same policy as America. When the Truman administration was moving towards recognition of Red China we obediently kept in step behind and our recognition was carefully timed to make it clear that when Truman made his statement of June 5, 1950, it did not mean that America was following a British lead. A week later when the Security Council had to decide whether China's permanent seat would be occupied by Peking or Formosa the British delegate abstained from voting. On June 25, 1950, the British delegate voted for the American resolution condemning

the North Koreans and at the meeting of the Security Council two days later he explained his Government's policy as follows :

" My Government welcomes the forthright statement of the President of the US and the prompt initiative of the US Government in offering aid to the Government of the Republic of Korea established under the aegis of the UN, to its people who have been victims of unwarranted aggression and to the restoration of the situation there . . . I wish to emphasise my delegation's support for the resolution adopted by the Council two days ago and for the US draft resolution presented today, as there have been insinuations that we have been hesitant in supporting the Council's action in this grave matter. There was no basis whatever for such insinuations, as I should have thought was clear from what I said in the Council two days ago. There is no basis for such insinuations now as I hope again it will be clear from what I have just said."

Having voted for the resolution condemning the North

Koreans we were faced with the dilemma that unless we were ready to recant and publicly declare that the aggressors were not the Communists but America, there was nothing for it but to continue following the same policy as America, no matter how disastrous the consequences might be.

In 1950 China was looking forward to a period of peace and reconstruction when they could disband their armies and devote their energies to land reform, industrialisation and other measures that would raise the living standards of the people. These high hopes have been frustrated by America's policy on Formosa which was described to the House Appropriations Committee in the following terms :

" There is to be kept alive a constant threat of military action *vis-a-vis* Red China in the hope that at some point there will be an internal breakdown—a cold war waged under the leadership of the United States with constant threat of attack against Red China led by Formosa and other Far Eastern groups militarily supported by the United States."

Appeals to the United Nations to take the appropriate measures under the Charter to put a stop to these acts of aggression have proved fruitless. Faced with the constant menace of invasion and of subversive activities directed from Formosa,

China has been compelled to maintain an army of five million men. This has made it necessary to impose a heavy burden of taxation on the peasants who have thus been deprived of much of the benefit which would normally have accrued under the rule of the efficient and incorruptible administration which is now in power.

There can be no remedy for these evils so long as America continues to maintain on Formosa a Government which refuses to submit to the authority of Peking. For more than four years after the surrender of Japan no one suggested that Formosa was not an integral part of China and it was only when America decided to include Formosa in her line of bases that certain people proposed that Formosa should be placed under UN trusteeship.

The Charter expressly provides that the United Nations has no power to intervene in matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state, but China has not forgotten what happened in Korea. If the UN, acting again as an instrument of American policy, sets up a separate Government in Formosa this Government, supplied with money and arms by America, will seek to extend its rule over the mainland of China, and any measure China may take to guard against this menace will be regarded as aggression against a State brought into existence by the UN. We may then expect to see repeated on a vaster scale in China the crimes against humanity that have been committed in Korea.

China is determined that neither the US nor the UN shall be allowed to claim the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of China. She has refused the UN invitation to discuss Formosa because on this question of intervention there can be no compromise. If foreign powers continue to maintain a separate Government on Formosa, China is prepared to go on fighting till the end of time. This is the only policy the Peking Government can adopt because it is the only policy that commands the support of the Chinese people.

## THE TWO CHINAS AND THE OVERSEAS CHINESE

*By Han Suyin (Singapore)*

**I**N the din and confusion wrought by the Formosa situation, no attention is paid to the long-drawn quandary of the Overseas Chinese in South-East Asia.

The dilemmic complications which may arise from the "two-China" situation upon the twelve millions of Overseas Chinese appear at the moment comparatively trivial. Yet we who live in this turbulent part of the world know too well how much the internal and foreign policies of the various countries of South-East Asia are conditioned by their reactions to the Overseas Chinese communities domiciled among them, the proportion of the latter to the native peoples, their economic wealth, and their politics.

Too often does the complex of hostility, suspicion, and legalised repression, and illegal but half-condoned "reprisals" against these "aliens" crop up to make the life of the Overseas Chinese perpetually uneasy. They live in an atmosphere of latent terror and constant devious placation, which must have been familiar to the Jews of medieval times. The latter, too, must have felt the need of "buying" what they could not get fairly, in order to survive.

In Djakarta, New Delhi, Rangoon and Peking, the question of the Overseas Chinese has been debated often and long. Their

status, dual nationality with its fish and fowl possibilities, the inevitable ambiguity of their loyalty as citizens of the new independencies of South-East Asia, have been the subject of prolonged discussion between the Communist Chinese Government and Mr. Nehru, Mr. U. Nu, and several Indonesian delegations.

While their fate was being discussed the Overseas Chinese themselves remained reticent and supine, adopted a policy of wait and see, and only too obviously wanted things to go on as they are, for the hour of decision would be tragic for many, involving inevitable sacrifices, material and emotional.

While the machinery for a modification of this unpopular ambivalence of the Overseas Chinese was beginning to function in Peking between the Indonesian Government and Red China, a spanner was thrown into the works from Taipeh. In September and October, 1954, the local English Press of Singapore featured several articles on Formosa, in which pictures of Chiang Kai-shek appeared on the front page, and headlining his statement : WE SHALL NEVER ABANDON, said he, OUR TWELVE MILLION BROTHERS OVERSEAS.

It is curious that this arsonic declaration, made at such a time, and in direct opposition to the known wishes of half a

Approximate numbers of Chinese in South-East Asian countries		
Country	Approx. total	Percentage of total population
Thailand	3,000,000	17%
Malaya (incl. Singapore)	3,000,000	45%
Indonesia	2,000,000	3%
Viet Nam	1,000,000	
Cambodia	300,000	4½%
Laos	7,750	
Burma	300,000	11%
Philippines	300,000	11½%
Sarawak	150,000	26%
British North Borneo	75,000	22%

dozen independent states of South-East Asia and to the British policy of Malayanising the fifty per cent. Chinese population of Malaya, elicited no comment at all.

The negotiations in Peking went on, but they became definitely less forceful, and Indonesia, to show her irritation, deported two prominent Kuomintang men from Djakarta. Was Red China really going to relinquish twelve million people, merely to throw them in the lap of Formosa? It must be remembered that the Overseas Chinese, though comparatively few in number, represent in Asia an accumulation of capital wealth which surpasses considerably the budget of China itself. To give up this wealth, and its infinite possibilities, even in part, would already be extremely handsome and unselfish; but to hand it over to one's enemy was highly improbable.

Nevertheless, in December, 1954, Peking radio announced that "progress had been made in the talks on dual nationality with Indonesia," and in January a broadcast from Peking exhorted the Overseas Chinese to be "good citizens and loyal" of their countries of abode. But the heart had gone out of the matter.

Meanwhile, Overseas Chinese "representative" bodies continued to function both in mainland China and in Formosa.

So far, the main efforts of the Kuomintang in Formosa have been directed towards the mainland. With this aim dashed, it is fairly obvious that the whole resources of Formosa's propaganda and agents, backed by unlimited anti-Communist resources, will be disposed towards a crusade to conquer and maintain footholds among the twelve million Overseas Chinese. Geographically, too, the island of Formosa is well sited to become the nucleus of an Overseas Chinese Empire.

And so the war will go on, and the efforts of the "two Chinas" to woo and to win the Overseas Chinese and their wealth lead to disturbances which augur ill for the future well-being of the nations of South-East Asia. In this context there is little chance that the Overseas Chinese will Malayanise, Burmanise, or in any way forgo Chinese politics and turn their loyalty single-mindedly towards their domiciliary countries.

In Malaya especially, the problem may seriously affect the issue of independence. The lack of assimilation of the Chinese has been a convenient excuse for discrimination against them as aliens, and the Malays have, reasonably enough, felt disinclined to hand over equality to such unreliable material. The present situation will lead to yet more disturbance in schools and to secret society clashes, the latter being often convenient vents for political hatreds.

The platitude that the Overseas Chinese have always maintained themselves "aliens," separate and distinct, and that nothing can be done about it is as incorrect as all platitudes. In reality, in two centuries of Chinese immigration a fair amount of assimilation has come about, and more transformation of the Chinese into an intermediate type retaining some traits

of his own culture, but also adapting some of the local people's. In Malaya the "baba" Chinese, about twenty per cent. of the total, knows little Chinese, is not interested in China, feels often intensely pro-British, and forms the reliable hardworking backbone of the government departments, the teachers and the bank clerks.

But it is also true that a trend in the opposite direction exists and is now on the increase. The younger generation of the Overseas Chinese today are being made increasingly conscious of their Chineseness. The emergence of China as a great power has inevitably attracted their attention, but any sign of interest in China now renders one suspect of "Communism," entails police surveillance and a circle of misunderstanding and frustration.

The causes of this trend are not new, although they are enhanced by today's dilemma. The most important factor making for "alienship" is the dual nationality law, promulgated by the imperial Ch'ing Government and in operation since 1909; it is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. Everyone who, irrespective of birthplace, can claim descent through the male line from a Chinese ancestor, is a Chinese citizen, irrespective of any other citizenship he may hold. It follows that a number of people of mixed parentage in Burma and in Siam can also claim Chinese citizenship through a remote great grandfather of Chinese stock.

Another factor was the policy of the Colonial Governments towards Chinese immigrants, plentiful, cheap and hardy labour. Large-scale association with native peoples was not only discouraged, it was impossible under the work gang conditions which prevailed. The latter led to the forging of many free-masonry types of associations and clans, and this has helped to keep the Chinese apart from others, and welded solidly together. Loyalty as a matter of habit is centred first upon self and one's family, then upon one's clan and finally upon the country of origin.

The structure of the Chinese family-clan-society, this banding together for mutual help and protection, is the foundation for the communal wealth and prosperity of the Overseas Chinese communities, creating those emotional and economic bonds which intricately web and crisscross over from country to country. The important point is that this wealth is not separate, but is essentially part of the capital wealth of the nations themselves, property, real estate, factories, mines, cinemas, import-export and business houses and banks. At present few of the native peoples have the technical know-how to run these affairs efficiently, and when they "take over" from the Chinese the results are occasionally disastrous.

All that the independent Governments can do is to try to control this wealth, their nation's, yet not theirs, by discriminatory taxation, severe supervision, rigid control of licences, with preferential treatment for the local peoples, poll taxes, head taxes, and other levies which are strongly resented because they amount to racial discrimination in the end.

This negative system which has been in operation in several countries (including Malaya in a minor way), in turn has a corruptive influence on the government officials who administer them. Bribes soften and mollify the most hard-hearted customs inspector, but bribing is done on such a vast scale, and so openly, that in some cities each government official has another official attached to his person to supervise him. So far this has meant an inflation in the cost of bribes.

The role of education, or rather the lack of educational facilities in South-East Asia is also greatly responsible for making and keeping the present generation of Overseas Chinese "China-conscious." This is not a new, Communist inspired policy, but

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# THE ALLIANCE AND THE MINORITIES IN MALAYA

By Tan Siew Sin (*Malacca*)

FROM time to time it has been suggested by its adversaries that the UMNO-MCA Alliance in Malaya, being communal in character will pursue the narrow path of communalism as a result of which the interests of minority communities will not only be disregarded but endangered. Let us examine the position carefully, because if the fear is justified, the Alliance as a political organisation claiming to represent the spirit of nationalism in the new Malaya should do something to rectify the situation.

Democracy cannot succeed without a minority accepting the rule of the majority for the time being in power. Neither can it succeed if the majority in power sets about systematically to extinguish the interests of a racial minority.

There is a tendency in the Federation of Malaya to equate the effective strength of a community in the various legislatures with the number of seats allocated to the members of that particular community. For example, in the present Federal Legislature of 75 members, 6 seats have been allotted to the Indian and Ceylonese communities and one seat to the Eurasian community, a total of seven. Apparently this allocation of seats, which is roughly proportionate to their numerical strength, is considered satisfactory to those communities because no public outcry has, as far as one can recall, been raised against that allocation. Yet even if that number were doubled, there is no guarantee that the interests of those communities will be adequately safeguarded because the Malay and Chinese members together could, if they wished, always outvote all the other communities put together. In the legislature which will come into being some time this year no guaranteed minimum number of seats could possibly save the minority communities except a number which is more than one-half of the total strength of the legislature—if the Alliance makes up its mind to ride roughshod over their vital interests. Even this device will not save the minorities unless they can be certain that on a critical vote all the minority communities will vote together and this is most unlikely. It will therefore be seen that the problem of the minorities will not be solved by a distribution of seats on racial lines, even assuming that the representatives of such minorities will always think and vote on racial lines.

It is suggested that the members of a particular race may not always be the best protectors of the interests of that race. There are numerous examples which come to mind in support of this contention. For example, during the

debate on the second reading of the Moneylenders Bill it was the Chinese members of the Federal Legislative Council who made a plea for more sympathetic treatment of money-lenders who, by and large, are of the Indian race. They did so on the ground that the Chettiar, for example, fulfil a function in the community which cannot be filled by the banks because the latter will never advance money except on good security. It was also pointed out that in the early days of this country's development it was the Chettiar community (there were no banks in existence then) which largely enabled the country to be developed as rapidly as it has been done. Not a single Indian member raised his voice on their behalf.

On the vital questions of citizenship, education, and immigration, Chinese and Indian interests very largely coincide and yet so far the fight has been waged entirely by the Chinese members. One cannot recall a single Indian or Eurasian member joining in the fight even though the Chinese members fought for their communities as well.

The Alliance may be communal in name but it is non-communal in practice and in fact. If this is so, the minorities have everything to gain and nothing to lose from its activities and its operations. Not only has it put up candidates belonging to the Indian, European and Eurasian communities, it has and will always continue to espouse the cause of Malaya rather than support the narrow causes of its constituent communities. To do otherwise would be a betrayal of the high trust reposed in it by those who have voted for it so decisively and so overwhelmingly in recent elections, because such a course would ultimately be detrimental to the interests of the very communities from whose members its supporters are so largely drawn.

When Malaya is free and in a position to decide its destiny without interference from any quarter the two organisations which make up the Alliance must inevitably shed their communal nomenclature and embrace all communities into their respective folds or they might become non-political organisations devoted largely to social and welfare work.

Colonialism has encouraged communalism for so long in Malaya that it must take time for the idea to be effectively eradicated from the mind of the man in the street. It may be argued that Singapore boasts of a non-communal political party, namely, the Progressive Party. By no stretch of imagination can that party be called a popular party with a mass appeal. Its supporters are very largely drawn from the English-speaking sections of the population consisting chiefly of well-to-do professional men, business men and the higher level of employees in Government, commerce and industry. It is therefore a party of the privileged classes with no roots in the masses. This is shown by the fantastically small number of votes which

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elected its successful candidates to the Singapore Legislative Council.

Both the Independence of Malaya Party and its successor, Party Negara, claim to be non-communal, but their leaders have exhibited some of the worst traits of communalism. They have unjustly accused UMNO of selling the Malays to the Chinese by teaming up with the MCA. This incitement to racial strife has been abandoned, at least in its more blatant forms, even by those who are past masters in the art of "divide and rule." But Negara leaders have not advocated non-communal reforms, the guiding principle of which must be that there must be equality of opportunity for all who owe allegiance to Malaya irrespective of race. This must mean the advocacy of the liberalisation of the qualifications for acquiring citizenship, indeed the advocacy of *jus soli* itself, the unrestricted right of all Malayans to be admitted into the Malayan Civil Service, etc.

Communal unity must come before national unity in a plural or multi-racial society. Only united communities can cooperate with one another to achieve national unity and independence. In this connection, how is one, for example, to cooperate with the Indian community when at least three organisations claim to represent the entire community and when their respective leaders command no following even in the aggregate, speak with three different

voices and continually quarrel among themselves in public? It is futile even to attempt to cooperate with a community in which such a state of affairs exists.

Moreover, a pre-condition of success must be that the Malays and Chinese, who together form nearly 90 per cent. of the total population of the country, must first be united before they attempt to unite with the other communities. To build on a lesser or any other foundation must lead to eventual failure and disillusionment. The Alliance is therefore a necessary stage in the growth of Malayan unity. Its leadership and objectives are far more important than its name. What is, is more important than what appears to be. It is better to be non-communal in fact though communal in name than the other way round. Further, success does not wait upon those who do not give due regard to existing realities. No political organisation, endowed though it be with the highest ideals, can succeed if its leaders are too far ahead of its rank and file and do not take into account the attitude of the ordinary man in the street. The minority communities have far less to fear from a communal organisation led by honest leaders pursuing objectives which will benefit all, irrespective of race, than from leaders who, under the cloak of a non-communal organisation, pursue objectives calculated to foster and inculcate distrust and strife among the constituent communities inhabiting Malaya.

## CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN JAPAN

*By our Tokyo Correspondent*

WITH the resignation of the Yoshida Government, the question of constitutional amendments has gained renewed prominence in Japan. Various committees and organisations are devoting themselves again to a number of controversial issues arising from the present Constitution which, in 1946, replaced the previous one.

This first Constitution was promulgated in 1889 by the Emperor Meiji. Exhaustive research had been made in many countries, mostly in Europe, since 1876. In that year the Emperor had ordered his advisers, eminently among them Prince Itoh, to study the problem and to submit a draft Constitution. As a result, the Constitution of 1889 shows remarkable German-Bismarckian influences. All governmental responsibility rests with the Emperor. There are no safeguards or precautions either of civil rights or against extra-parliamentary bureaucracy. The Cabinet is an advisory body, responsible only to the Emperor, and the armed forces stand outside of all responsibility except their direct obedience to the command of the Emperor.

Under the impact of the defeat and the Occupation after World War II, a reform of the old, semi-feudal Constitution became unavoidable. Many stories are told about the initiative, the peculiar circumstances and the various arguments in connection with the new Constitution. Whether they are true or not, has become irrelevant today. Only historians might be interested in the details of the birth of Japan's new Constitution. One fact stands out: American influence is unmistakable in the wording and in

the spirit of the present Constitution. Its draft was presented to the Diet in 1946. The House of Representatives confirmed the draft on August 20, 1946, with 421 votes against 8, six of which were Communists. The new Constitution was promulgated on November 3, 1946, and became effective on May 3, 1947. Today, May 3 is celebrated in Japan as Constitution Day.

A solemn preamble declares that "We, the Japanese people . . . determined to secure peaceful cooperation with all other nations . . . and the blessings of liberty . . . resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people . . ." The outstanding renovations are legislation by the two houses of the Diet, both of which are elected; restriction of the powers of the Emperor to a "Symbol of the State"; the establishment of a Supreme Court with authority to decide on the constitutionality of laws and other governmental acts, and the by now famous Article IX, renouncing war as a sovereign right of the nation and resolution never to maintain again armed forces: "The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognised." The status of the Emperor underwent essential changes as compared to the Meiji Constitution of 1889. Now, parliamentary sanction is required for each and every action of the Emperor. His authority is limited to personal issues only: appointment of the Prime Minister on suggestion of the Parliament; appointment of the Chief Justice according to a Cabinet

proposal. On behalf of the people of Japan, the Emperor promulgates laws and regulations, international agreements, decrees assembly and dissolution of the parliament, announces general elections, confirms the appointment of cabinet ministers, receives the representatives of foreign countries, confers medals and distinctions and exercises the prerogative of amnesty. A special law regulates the civil and legal status of the Emperor and the members of the Imperial Family. Though the Emperor does not enjoy special immunity, he is not liable to be sued by legal action.

Other parts of the Constitution refer to civil liberties and responsibilities, parliament, cabinet, courts, public finance and the principles of local autonomy. On the whole, the new Constitution has worked well since it became effective eight years ago. In its earlier stages, it enjoyed the protection of the Occupation; only during the last three years has it been subjected to the full strain of independence. Public discussion on constitutional amendments began with the signing of the Mutual Security Agreement between Japan and the United States. This agreement implies the formation and maintenance of armed forces by Japan. It, therefore, constitutes a violation of Article IX of the Constitution in its present form. As long as Japan's modest defence forces could be called, even with some stretching of the conception, "police forces," a change of the Constitution, while mentioned here and there as a point in political discussions, was not regarded as urgent. However, with the gradual growth of Japan's armed forces, which will soon exceed their embryonal status, it will become necessary to amend the Constitution—otherwise it would become meaningless. So far, the existence of the Japanese Self Defence Forces has not discredited the Constitution though the presence of armed forces involves a rather liberal interpretation of Article IX. No written Constitution can cover the whole domain of public law and life for ever, or as Oliver Wendell Holmes put it: "The life of the law is not logic but experience." However, if Japan is to participate in a world organisation and in collective security systems—and indications are that she will take part—then the Constitution will have to be changed. The question has been debated for some time already, and the interested public is fully acquainted with the issue.

At the same time, amendments of other parts of the Constitution were discussed, too, though it is less evident why these should be changed immediately. These additional alterations refer to the status of the Emperor, to make him again head of the state instead of its symbol; to a reduction of the powers of the Prime Minister; to a revival of the pre-war system of appointed Diet members; to a revision of the "Human Rights" provisions and the competence of the Supreme Court. Interestingly enough, all initiative for amending the Constitution originates with the political right. The Socialist parties do not have any part in the various bodies studying and proposing changes of the Constitution. On the contrary, the left concentrates its efforts to preserving and safeguarding the constitutional *status quo*. As a result of this difference of opinions, sections of the public have become suspicious of the groups

clamouring for amendments. Some of their members are being associated with pre-war and wartime totalitarianism. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama, was recently asked by foreign journalists whether he would initiate changes in the Constitution and submit his proposals to a referendum. He replied that, in his opinion, every nation has the right of self defence. Therefore, Article IX of the Constitution leaves room for obscurity and needs re-wording; but whether or not these changes would be subjected to a plebiscite, would depend on the outcome of the general elections which will be held within a few weeks.

As far as the Supreme Court is concerned, the debate on its revision is centred on two main points. One is the performance of its duties as Constitutional Court, and the other, its functions as Court of Appeal and the resulting backlog of several thousand cases which are carried over each year. As a remedy of the second difficulty, an increase of the number of judges—at present 14—has been suggested, since Japan's pre-war Supreme Court numbered over 40 judges. The assumption is that such an increase would lighten the burden on the present judges. But others hold that such an increase would jeopardise the standard of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court itself calls, on the contrary, for a reduction to nine members with the Court to take only those cases which it deems important enough for its deliberations. The Court suggests to set up a separate bench to pass judgement on ordinary appeals so that the Supreme Court could disassociate itself from appeals concerning violations of the general law.

As a Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court of Japan is—according to Article 81 of the Constitution—"the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act." Opinions are divided over the interpretation of this provision. In 1952, the Supreme Court ruled that it did not possess the authority to determine *in abstracto* or "in general terms" the constitutionality of a law or of another official act. Since then, the Court has been holding the same view. The followers of the Anglo-Saxon legal thought in Japan who, at present, form the majority of jurists in the country support this theory. They endorse the opinion that courts, including the Supreme Court, under the present system are judicial, i.e., vested with the power of decision which can be invoked only at the presentation of a specific case. Other legal scholars, mostly those under European influence, hold that the Supreme Court is authorised to determine whether or not a law or any other official act is in accordance with the Constitution. They argue historically and logically: under the Meiji Constitution, the Privy Council could examine the constitutionality of official acts. The present "judicial independence" of the courts was introduced under the influence of the Occupation. Consequently, the present Supreme Court is not the same as the pre-war Cour de Cassation, it ranks higher than that institution. It is for that very same reason that the Chief Justice has now been given the same status as the Prime Minister, and the 14 associate judges are on equal level with the cabinet ministers. This latter legal opinion claims that, if the Supreme Court did not have the prerogative of

examining the constitutionality of official acts, there would be no supervision of any trespassing on the Constitution by administrative authorities. A number of eminent Japanese jurists, such as Professors Hojime Kaneko, Toshie Irie, Soichi Sasaki and others, were heard before the Judicial Committee of the House of Representatives

without, however, enabling the Committee, so far, to form a final opinion on the subject.

It follows that the new parliament which will assemble in Tokyo within a few weeks will have a wide range of constitutional issues to deal with. Their legal aspects are of no minor importance than their political implications.

## CAMBODIA AND KING NORODOM

*By our Bangkok Correspondent*

THE plane from Bangkok touched down at a tiny airstrip carved from uninhabited scrubland with a sky-line of jungle. Happily the kingdom's insignificant back door is guarded neither by customs officers, nor by immigration officials. Passports are dealt with at the nearest town while the holders dine or sleep at their ease. The short journey through the long, green scrub to Siemrap was accomplished by the only vehicle to meet the plane, a hotel bus. It landed its passengers upon the steps of a huge hotel overlooking the "township"—a little huddle of civic buildings, a market square and two short streets of Chinese and Vietnamese shops. But the first sight of that monumental hotel produced a thrill of anticipation; it betokened Angkor!

I spent the next few days wandering in a weird stone wilderness composed of the sculptured walls, vast piles and crumbling towers of Angkor's jungle-lapped cities and temples. How to describe a place so marvellous that the Roman Coliseum and the pyramids of Egypt seem airy trifles in comparison? I suppose Sir Osbert Sitwell's *Escape with Me* is the most successful literary attempt to evoke its beauty and its splendour. My own powers are quite inadequate; besides, the awe-inspiring Khmer civilisation whose abrupt disappearance is still a source of confused speculation, has almost nothing to do with Cambodia today. The only link is that of blood; for it has been established that the mild-featured, black-clothed Cambodian peasants you can see patiently tilling their ricefields are in fact direct descendants of those harsh warriors who loved to preserve their strange and somehow terrible dreams in immortal stone. For the purposes of this article, my journey really begins with the long cross-country bus-ride to Phnom-Penh.

The 300-kilometre road gliding across a flat plain towards the capital is alternately hemmed in by jungle or bordered by a vast chessboard of green paddy-fields which fade into the shimmering horizon. Clumps of feathery sugar-palms and oblong houses perched on stilts with sharply pointed roofs could easily have persuaded me that I was still in Thailand. Here were the same multi-roofed, yellow-tiled temples, the same saffron-robed monks wearing expressions of gentle aloofness, and the same peasants clad in "panungs"—sarong-like garments caught up between the legs into the shape of exceedingly voluminous shorts backed by a kind of tail. The only obvious difference from Thailand was, however, deeply significant. Here, in this recent protectorate of a "beneficent" European power, poverty appeared much graver and far more widespread than in Thailand, whose rulers used to be witheringly described as "Oriental despots."

As we clattered through various market towns, I was surprised to notice that almost everyone in sight was apparently Vietnamese. Even the approaches to these towns mostly consisted of a long vista of pleasant-looking, red-tiled wooden houses of a style Chinese in inspiration but possessing that subtle difference which distinguishes all things Vietnamese from their Chinese counterparts. As we drew nearer the capital, the graceful Vietnamese dress—a calf-length gown slit to the waist and displaying gloriously full trousers—became more and more ubiquitous. Virtually every prosperous individual appeared to be either Vietnamese or Chinese. I began to feel sorry for the Cambodians and to imagine the state of affairs in Phnom-Penh.

Some thirty kilometres from the capital, a tiresome delay was caused by our joining a long line of vehicles all awaiting the services of a single ferry to take them in groups of three across a broad, glittering

arm of the Mekhong River. When our turn came at last, the ferry deposited us in surroundings I had never expected to see in Buddhist Cambodia. Lining the river was a large Malay kampong, complete with two mosques and thronged with dark men wearing sarongs and the Malay variation of the turbush. I learnt that this incongruous community had been planted there for several centuries and that it was one of several.

The rest of the journey was accomplished at funeral pace. Our Cambodian driver had inherited from the French a love of rank, black cigarettes and of furious driving. But now the well-nigh irresistible force which sustained his driving was confronted with something very much like an invincible object. For mile upon mile, we crawled past an endless procession of carts returning from a journey undertaken to convey piles of bricks from local kilns into the city. Each had a fine upward-sweeping shaft, sometimes delicately carved, to which two bullocks were harnessed. The carters travelled in whole families, their varied costumes proclaiming them to be of many races—Cambodian, Vietnamese, Malay and Chinese. There were even a couple of sad-eyed Indians. So much of the space beneath the cart-hoods was occupied by bedding and family possessions that at first I suspected some large-scale emigration of refugees. Refugees from what? I didn't know and I could not speak Cambodian, the driver's only language.

Phnom-Penh proved to be a small but quite delightful city; it derives its name from a Buddhist stupa built upon a tiny hillock, the only elevation visible within the entire compass of the horizon. It is served by the main channel of the Mekhong, even wider than the splendid stretch of water which had delayed us some two hours. In the residential area I noticed many fine villas, learning afterwards that they are the objects of eager rivalry among the flock of newly arrived diplomats, United Nations personnel and other newcomers to the newly independent state. No doubt they once echoed to French laughter and French voices. The rest of the town, apart from the surroundings of the royal palace and some neighbouring ministries, is composed of small, neat shops, of which seemingly less than five per cent. are kept by Cambodians. Chinese and Vietnamese—everywhere! It was like being in a major suburb of Saigon. Everywhere, Vietnamese chatter, Vietnamese music; charming slightly-built Vietnamese women in jackets and trousers of flowered silk or cloth; alert, smiling Vietnamese men in clean white shirts—"Surely this cannot be Cambodia, whose culture is intertwined with the gold-clad warriors, monkey-gods and long-fanged, green-faced demons of the Ramayana?" This is not Little India, but Little China."

The principal shops radiate from the huge glass structure of the chief market, a building so hideous that its equal probably does not exist; horrible glass and concrete erection at once "modernistic" and reminiscent of a London railway terminus encountered during an attack of indigestion. Most of the goods displayed in the shops had been imported, largely from France. Of local products, jewels and jewellery were the most conspicuous. Never have I seen so many goldsmiths and jewellers, so many rows of trays heaped with gleaming sunset stones. I do not know that there are any stones of great value, but the mass effect is striking. Restaurants abound—Cantonese, Hainanese, Vietnamese, French, and (best of all) those offering French-style dishes deftly modified by the cunning hands of Chinese cooks, which represent a marriage of the highest culinary arts of

East and West. Wine, normally the rarest of drinks in Eastern Asia, is cheap and plentiful. The popular taste for it proves that French rule was not altogether devoid of beneficial results. But what of Cambodian food? I believe it is similar to the Indo-Chinese cooking of Thailand, but my Cambodian friends declared there was not a single Cambodian restaurant in which to entertain me. We compromised by eating Vietnamese food—like Vietnamese architecture, Chinese with a difference.

Hotels in almost every street. Apart from the French-run Hotel Royal, now a hive of people connected with the United Nations, most of them are Cantonese, perhaps all. These are housed in up-to-date concrete buildings and furnished with an emphasis on modernity. They are clean and offer a good service, but at night Old China blinks, stretches and awakes. Fortune tellers and magicians roam the corridors announcing their mysterious arts with much clacking of giant clappers; blind singing-girls accompanied by several musicians are frequently summoned to the bedrooms, from which they fill the night with cheerful, high-pitched melodies, several voices competing with different songs from different windows; ivory tablets are clashed lovingly or angrily against blackwood mahjong tables; and demure-faced girls, their expressions as innocent as those of a village choir in Surrey, flit discreetly into the rooms of bachelors and grass-widowers who feel lonely in the dark. The resulting cacophony of sounds does not abate much before dawn. Fortunately, I enjoyed it for the memories it evoked of days and nights in China.

The next day, I visited the palace area. Peking's gorgeous Forbidden City hiding its delights behind massive battlemented walls—itself a reflection of the ancient glories of earlier Chinese capitals—has produced gradually diminishing echoes in Moscow (the Chinese-walled Kremlin), Kyoto, Seoul, Jehol, Mandalay, Bangkok and Phnom-Penh. But, in southern countries, the great walls darken the banks of a river instead of encompassing the exact centre of the royal capital; and the architecture of individual buildings owes almost as much to India as to China.

The direct inspiration of the Cambodian palace was probably some recorded memory of the prototype of the present grand palace in Bangkok; though perfectly "Thai" in every detail, it has escaped the horror of the ugly "Victorian" buildings which have replaced most of the original fairy pavilions in the Siamese royal enclosure. Cambodians, either in admiration of their unconquered neighbour or in memory of the days when they still paid tribute to the Siamese monarch, have adopted from Thailand almost the whole of their royal ceremonial, court dress, court etiquette, and the entire layout and architecture of the royal palace. But always the chosen model has been an idealised Thailand freed from the vulgarity and colourlessness caused by undiscriminating westernisation. Moreover, King Norodom (in contrast to the Siamese King) still occupies his traditional apartments, instead of relegating his palace to function as a monument to the dead past.

The walls of King Norodom's palace contain a rectangular garden dotted with cruciform pavilions surmounted by tier upon tier of brilliantly tiled roofs. From the centre of the chief buildings rise many-storied towers tapering gracefully into delicately wrought steeples. These gigantic replicas of the many-layered royal crown are distinctive of kingship; for the towers and pavilions of temples and monasteries are invariably separate constructions. Photographs, or an actual view of the pale yellow palace buildings illuminated by floodlight suggest a fairy-like charm which is somewhat dissipated when they are seen by day; for the brilliant sunlight discloses a shoddiness of material and flimsiness of construction which are not visible in softer lights or in photographic reproductions. Nevertheless, though the buildings may lack the solidity, and the richness of the gold, silver and coloured-glass incrustations characteristic of Bangkok, they do reflect the wisdom of the architects in avoiding all forms of bastard, "nor-East-nor-West" construction.

Adjacent to the palace are several buildings of similar design—the Temple Royal, the museum, the Buddhist Library, and some of the government offices. Built largely under French auspices, their traditional style adds much to the dignity of the whole quarter. And behind the museum is the College of Fine Arts, where craftsmen continue to mould silver, bronze, stone, leather and silk into traditional forms. Here, too, the comparison with Bangkok is favourable, for



*King Norodom of Cambodia*

the thirst of modern Thais for westernisation and their uncritical adoption of anything and everything western has led to the extinction of many noble and ancient crafts. It is clear that a curious and unexpected result of the bad old colonialism in the East has been the revival of many once decaying branches of Asiatic culture. The subject peoples of Asia, deprived of the distinction and the opportunities for personal achievement inherent in high office, resentful of foreign culture, and (perhaps unconsciously) striving to maintain their racial entity, developed a new pride in their traditional arts and customs, whereas, in unsubjugated Thailand, the decay of all but religious traditions has gone so far as to preclude hope of revival.

The royal palace remains the heart of all Cambodia because it is still the main residence of King Norodom. This young man, recently the gilded figurehead of the French barque of state, has already attracted to himself quite an extraordinary measure of love and devotion. I doubt if any living potentate enjoys such immense popularity among all classes of his subjects. In addition to the godlike status ever accorded to kings in this part of the world, he possesses a fine, handsome presence, a tremendous personality and a truly remarkable record of personal achievement. Only a few years ago, utterly disillusioned by French prevarications concerning the

granting of independence to Cambodia, King Norodom swore to abdicate if he failed to achieve total independence within three years. And, with six months still to go, he obtained a startling victory. Despite the angry prohibition of his French overlords, he suddenly crossed into Thailand, intending to use Bangkok as a base from which to rally world opinion to his cause. Unexpectedly, the Thais made their hospitality conditional upon his refraining from all political activity, for their sympathy by no means equalled their love of prudence. Undeterred, the King went to Washington, bearing a charm more potent than any compounded by the wizards of Old Angkor. He soon made it plain that the many dissident and nationalistic elements in Cambodia would certainly call more and more upon Communist help if he could not immediately make a counter-offer of complete independence from French rule. America in its current mood could do nothing but promise swift action. Under pressure from their allies, the French granted almost all the King's demands : and such little power as they retained was completely dissipated after Dien Bien Phu and Geneva. Henceforth, Cambodia was a truly independent country.

It is not widely known that, after the war, many Lao chieftains and their followers suffered death at French hands or fled into neighbouring countries to escape the harsh punitive measures dealt by the French to those Laos who had declared their independence of France. In view of what happened to them, the King's action was highly courageous. Had he failed, he would have been like any other leading rebel against the "properly constituted authority of the French Union." Death or confiscation of property and exile would inevitably have followed. Here was no young man acting in his own interests for safe and selfish gain, but a great patriot ready to sell his life for his country's freedom.

Unfortunately, this courageous gamble was only the first of King Norodom's troubles. True, he returned to a country almost wholly reunited by the magic of independence ; but Cambodia's position was far different from that of newly liberated India. The French, never having contemplated granting real independence, had trained no administrators or economists capable of taking over smoothly and efficiently. They left the Cambodians a largely impoverished and ill-educated people, with only a sprinkling of men and a handful of women who had received higher education. English (now the international language of South-East Asia) was an almost unknown tongue—so much so that junior clerks from the country's few English and American business concerns found themselves called upon to fill diplomatic and administrative posts for which they were totally untrained. As for the King, he was confronted by a monstrous dilemma. Openly dedicated to the rapid achievement of representative government and the relinquishment of most of his own powers, he found himself with only a tiny following of men capable of fulfilling the tasks of government. Circumstances forced him into a position not greatly different from that of the absolute monarchs of olden days. His working day is long and arduous, and many years must elapse before he can hand over the burden of actual power. For an ardent disciple of democracy, his position is ironical.

Not one scrap of the affection now felt for Britain by former enemies of the British Raj in India is reflected in the Cambodian attitude to the departed French. The latter prevaricated too long, bluffed too much, and yielded too ungracefully\* to friendly pressure and military defeat in Viet Nam. Their many high-sounding promises which had amounted to so little ; their failure to provide adequate training for responsible posts ; the limited scope of popular education (far less widespread than in neighbouring Thailand) ; the numerous cases of shocking behaviour by French troops or petty officials towards the local populace ; the stern economic measures which had for so long enriched France at the expense of an exceedingly poor people—all

of these resulted in unqualified detestation. I understand that, except within the limits of a few major towns, residence in Cambodia is now forbidden to Frenchmen ; and, throughout my visit, I met no single man who had a good word to say for the French, unless in praise of one or two individual undertakings or persons. One of these exceptions concerned the wonderful work of reclamation from the jungle performed at Angkor. The limitations on residence and the bitter rancour have no counterpart in present-day India.

In spite of the unfortunate effects left by alien rule, Cambodia possesses several assets. The new Government is dedicated to rapid educational and political development. The country is fertile and rich in rice, timber and certain minerals—though, this year, unusually bad harvests have resulted in a need to import rice. Best of all, there is the inestimable boon of having more than enough vacant land to meet all needs for generations to come. Moreover, by religion and temperament the Cambodians are rather spartan in their attitude towards property : a very modest rise in their living standard will seem to them the height of good fortune. If Cambodia were sure of being left to work out its own destiny, a bright future could be safely prophesied. But the chances of this appear almost nil.

A feature perhaps even more significant than the near neighbourhood of the Viet Minh and Communist China is the enormous size and economic importance of the Vietnamese minority within the country. In theory, Vietnamese form one-twelfth of the six million population ; in fact, the percentage is incalculable and the figure would need to be very much larger. It should include the large number of Cambodian subjects of pure Vietnamese race, and for some purposes all those with a strong admixture of Vietnamese blood. Even that is not all, for I judge that much more than fifty per cent. of the urban population are Vietnamese by race and custom ; and almost all commerce and industry, nearly all shops, restaurants and places of amusement, are in Vietnamese or Chinese hands. Similarly, the great majority of skilled artisans, clerks, accountants, shop-assistants and so on are, racially, foreigners. It is difficult to pick out the racial composition of a street crowd, for nearly all the men have taken to some abbreviated form of western dress, but the costumes of the women (jacket or robe and full trousers for Vietnamese and blouse and sarong for Cambodians) indicate a heavy Vietnamese majority. The newly formed Cambodian Civil Service cannot for many decades exclude those of mainly foreign origin. For example, in one Cambodian legation about which I happened to ask, it is said that only one member of the staff can be described as a "genuine Cambodian"—whatever that may mean.

I do not imply that Cambodians of foreign descent are necessarily disloyal. Indeed the contrary seems to be true. But the temptation to disloyalty would be very strong if Cambodia's relations with Viet Nam should ever suffer heavy strain. And if the elections promised by the Geneva Conference, which are now much less than two years off, should result in the Viet Minh gaining control of all Viet Nam—as seems highly probable at present—the test of an individual's loyalty may become even more acute. Even supposing that political or military considerations should make the Viet Minh desire good relations with Cambodia, they will certainly expect a friendly or perfectly neutral attitude there ; and they will surely seek to protect Vietnamese interests in the country. On the other hand, Cambodia's western neighbour, Thailand, is a country firmly committed to cooperation with America. The more Cambodia seeks to please those on one side of her, the more her other neighbours will be disgruntled. It is all too probable that the Cambodians will find themselves used like a rope in a fierce and terrible tug-of-war.

I left Cambodia with a feeling of affection for a gay and brave people, led by a man deeply worthy of their trust—a people whose future could be very bright. Though no great admirer of monarchic rule in principle, I am convinced that circumstances and his own good qualities make King Norodom one of the country's greatest blessings. If the tug-of-war between two virtually embattled neighbours does not develop or is not too hard to bear, he may succeed in leading his people forward to economic and administrative benefits such as they have never enjoyed in their history, meanwhile promoting representative government as swiftly as conditions warrant. He has the qualities not only of a king who happens to be a statesman, but of a statesman who happens to be a king.

\*In Saigon, so it is said, when the C.I.D. was handed over to the Vietnamese in accordance with a solemn undertaking, the French refused to part with any of the files, thereby rendering their successors powerless to fulfil their functions ! I have also heard it reliably reported that, before handing over the Foreign Office, the French even removed the lampshades and the maps ! It is fairly certain that whatever of this nature occurred in Viet Nam was more than duplicated in Cambodia, home of a more timid and self-effacing people.

# LONDON NOTEBOOK

## Commonwealth Prime Ministers

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference brought to London last month leaders of five Eastern countries—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand. It was a cold and wet welcome that they received. They all missed their native sunshine and warmth, but for Mr. Menzies an even greater sorrow was in being away from his country during the final test match. However, he followed the game on the wireless, even if it meant waking up at five in the cold February morning.

The Conference itself took most of their time during their ten days' stay, but the Prime Ministers nevertheless squeezed in a number of social engagements in their agenda. The Prime Minister of India, among other things, spoke at a public reception, addressed the world Press, met Indian students and attended a meeting at India House to observe Gandhi's death anniversary. Mr. Nehru looked extremely fit and was in constant good humour. At the recent Indian National Congress in Madras he haughtily challenged anyone of his age (65) for a physical contest—running, swimming, wrestling or weight-lifting. It was not surprising that no one had so far accepted the challenge.

The Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mr. Kotewala, addressed students and danced with guests at an Independence Day social arranged by the Ceylon Students' Association. The picture he gave his young citizens of their country's advance since freedom was one that must have satisfied even the most impatient among them. In the field of education, to take one example, the Government spends Rs. 160m., while the amount before 1947 was only Rs. 8m. Before independence 400,000 children were at school; today there are 1,600,000. A thousand new schools have been opened. Free education is provided from the nursery stage to the university.

## Diplomacy and Charm

Behind the hustle and bustle of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings the work of the overburdened High Commissioners went on smoothly and efficiently. The collating of much of the Prime Ministers' material was left in their hands as well as the organisation of, and appearance at, social activities.

Three of the High Commissioners had only recently arrived in London when they were plunged into the thick of things. Mrs. Pandit (India) and Mr. Clifton Webb (New Zealand) arrived at the end of last year, and Mr. Ikramullah (Pakistan) in January. The most serene, during the period of the Conference, appeared to be Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the first woman to hold a high diplomatic post in this capital. She impressed everyone with her grace and charm.

The day Mrs. Pandit took over as High

Commissioner at India House she boasted to her staff: "You may become tired of work, but I am not going to be." The next morning she was down with influenza. It kept her in bed for ten days. Humbled, she apologised to a number of organisations which had arranged receptions in her honour. The receptions were postponed and after she became well Mrs. Pandit has been tirelessly attending these and other functions.

In all her speeches, the predominant note was her deep faith in the power of the Commonwealth to further the cause of peace. In one of her first public appearances she told members of the East India Association and the Overseas League, who gathered to welcome her, that her mission in this country was something more than the interpretation of the political policies of India. It was to build up that kind of climate here and in other countries in which peace could grow. She asked for the cooperation of the people of Britain ("You who know India so well") to interpret the deeper values for which India stood.

Not only had Mrs. Pandit to carry out her normal duties, and prepare notes for her brother, Mr. Nehru, but, as she privately confided, much of her time was spent in the kitchen at the Indian High Commissioner's house in Kensington Palace Green where, on February 10, she gave a splendid reception in honour of the Indian Prime Minister. There is nothing of the hard, trim and severe woman-at-the-top about Mrs. Pandit. Her gentle manner and soft voice make her efficiency and wisdom the more impressive. Perhaps Mr. Nehru's evident fitness and personal buoyancy, in noticeable contrast to his rather tired and overworked look during the 1953 visit, could be attributed to the help, care and wise counsel his sister was able to give him while he was here in London.

## Indian and Pakistani Economics

Sir Percival Griffiths made a report on the economic health of India and Pakistan when he addressed the East India Association. He had lately visited these two countries. He diagnosed Pakistan's troubles as due to an over-indulgence in development schemes and his advice was: "Don't embark on new capital schemes until you have the strength to maintain them." He warned Pakistan against an exaggerated idea of what could be done by American loan.

Sir Percival would have given India a clean bill of health if only her Government had taken a more moderate line towards private enterprise. He noticed a lessening of confidence among Indian business men, especially since Nehru returned from China, and his view was that "India cannot afford that." Sir Percival was the leader of the European Group in the British Indian Central Assembly. He has now wide business connections with India and Pakistan.

## Mr. Mohammed Ali

The criticism that Pakistan's development projects were "over-ambitious" was answered by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, while addressing a joint meeting of the Pakistan Society, the East India Association and the Overseas League. "We have no time to lose," he said. "We are an undeveloped country and the sooner we begin to exploit our natural resources the better would be the prospect of improving the standard of living of our people." Asia, the Prime Minister pointed out, had a tremendous way to go before catching up with the industrial progress of western countries. In this context Mr. Ali welcomed American economic aid, observing that the West could render no greater service to the cause of freedom than by helping to raise the living standard of the masses of Asia. "The battles of freedom against godless totalitarianism will be fought in Asia, not on the battlefields but in its numerous villages, not with guns but with bread."

Mr. Mohammed Ali defended the action of the Governor-General in dissolving the Constituent Assembly. Democracy demanded that a Constituent Assembly which had forfeited the confidence of the people should cease to function. The misunderstanding caused abroad in this regard, was, he alleged, due to the sensation-mongering of the foreign Press.

## Pakistan International Airlines

To celebrate the pre-inaugural flight of the new Pakistan International Airlines, its general manager, Mr. F. Maurice McGregor, held a reception in London on January 21. A large number of business men, diplomats, officials and pressmen attended. Mr. J. Profumo, Under-Secretary of State for Civil Aviation, welcomed the new airline and officially wished it "good luck."

The first PIA plane brought to London Pakistan's Prime Minister and a party of journalists. Regular scheduled flights—one in each direction—started from Karachi on February 1. The line is operated with Super Constellations carrying 11 first-class and 59 tourist passengers.

## Thai Politics

Certain contradictions in the working of democracy in Thailand could not have escaped members of the Royal Central Asian Society when Prince Chula of Thailand, cousin of the King of Thailand, spoke to them on his country's economic and political background. Thailand has an elected Government, but the ruling party in its Parliament cannot be thrown out because 110 of its 232 members are Government nominees. In the elected group, the United Party, which runs the Government, has a strength of 92 and there are 30 members forming a "not very well organised" Opposition.

"It is like your House of Commons and House of Lords," the Prince explained,

" except that in our Parliament the two sit in the same chamber." " Of course," he added, " it is only in theory that the Government cannot be thrown out, because, in practice, there is nothing to prevent all the nominated members joining together and voting against the Government."

Prince Chula then described the nature of the Fourth Estate in Thailand. The Press was free, he said, but they could not criticise any foreign Government. If some paper did, the Government had powers to close it down. This policy was a consequence of " irresponsible writing " in the past, but he assured the audience that it had now been relaxed a great deal and was " dying a natural death. "

Thai foreign policy was based largely on participation in the United Nations, SEATO and the Colombo Plan. Thailand's friendship with the United States, he pointed out, was no recent development, but went back to over a hundred years.

#### Afro-Asian Conference

At a meeting of the United Nations Fellowship on January 26, Mr. P. N. Meddegoda, Press Officer to the High Commissioner for Ceylon, explained some points about the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference. At the invitation of the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, 25 States are expected to meet in Indonesia at the end of April to discuss their economic and political problems. The highest priority, Mr. Meddegoda explained, will be given to the examination of methods of how to raise the living standards of the Asian and African countries.

#### Friendship for Malaya

The creation of a Malayan League of Friendship was announced by Lord Ogomore at a luncheon organised by him and Mr. W. T. Proctor, M.P. at the House of Commons last month. The League is open to all those who are interested in fostering close relations with Malaya. Its Presidents are Lord Ogomore, Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan (President of the Chinese Malayan Association) and H.H. Tunku Abdul Rahman (President of the United Malay National Organisation). Chairman is Mr. W. T. Proctor, M.P. The League is an all-party affair and it is intended to form a similar organisation in the USA.

Lord Ogomore explained the political and economic problems of Malaya and the necessity of helping that country to escape chaos and to become a shop window of democracy. The campaign against the terrorists was now in its seventh year and was costing Malaya £20m. a year. Lord Ogomore stressed the desirability for Malaya to diversify her economy so as to make her less dependent on rubber and tin. He regretted that the international agreement aiming at guaranteeing stable tin prices had not been signed by the US which had declared her benevolent neutrality. " I wish they would concentrate more on benevolence than on neutrality," he said.

Amongst the guests were prominent parliamentarians from both sides of the House, high government officials and mem-

bers of the Press. A message was received at the function from the leaders of the UMNO-MCA Alliance appealing for guidance and help for Malaya in her efforts to become an independent, democratic nation.

Enquiries about the Malayan League of Friendship should be made to the Secretary, Mrs. L. Proctor, 198, Knollys Road, Streatham, S.W.16.

#### Chinese Art

There has been more eastern art on view in London. The Britain-China Friendship Association arranged at the Foyles Art Gallery an exhibition of the works of two outstanding contemporary Chinese artists, Ch'i Pai-Shih and Hsu Pei-Hung (Ju Peon). There were about 40 exhibits and there would have been more, had not some paintings sent from China been delayed in transit. Those shown were mostly drawn from private British collections.

Ch'i Pai-Shih is the most celebrated Chinese artist today. He is 94, and, as one would expect, a traditionalist. Yet at the same time he is not academic. His subject matter is conventional, but he has introduced folk elements in his work and has a highly individualistic style. " My whole ambition, " he once said, " is to make portraits of all tiny insects and convey the message of all small birds." Shrimps, fish, frogs, magpies, a flower on a stem, such are his favourite subjects and they are all drawn with extraordinary freshness and vigour and a deceptive simplicity. His deep love and understanding of Nature is seen in all his paintings. In one of his poems he has written : " It is easy to grow a tree in ten years, but to paint a tree is the work of a lifetime. Oh, who will understand and share with me the feeling and love I have for a little hill ? "

Born of poor peasant parents, Ch'i Pai-Shih had no schooling and spent his early childhood looking after cattle and cutting firewood. At eleven he began to learn carpentry under his uncle, which led him to wood-carving and lattice work and later on to creative design and painting itself. When he was 27, Ch'i left his village and went to the town of Hsiangtan, a hundred miles away, where he first met poets, artists and scholars and tried to live by painting portraits. But life was hard, and, to supplement his income, he took up seal-carving, an art held in high repute in China. It was not until he was 60 that Ch'i Pai-Shih became famous as a painter. Today, at 94, he is as prolific as ever and shows an amazing vitality in his work.

Ju Peon, who died a year ago at the age of 53, is perhaps better known in Europe than Ch'i Pai-Shih. He studied in Paris and belongs to the new school of painting in China that is developing along western lines but has its roots firmly in the best Chinese tradition. He was also a remarkable teacher, and many fine young artists in China today have been his students at the National Central University in Nanking.

The exhibition was opened by the British artist, Stanley Spencer, who had recently

returned from a visit to China. He spoke of his experiences in that country and described his visit to the house of Ch'i Pai-Shih. Mr. Huan Hsiang, Chinese Charge d'Affaires in London, stressed the value of the exhibition in bringing Britain and China together and also suggested that a collection of contemporary English paintings could be sent to China.

#### Mughal Art Exhibition

An exhibition of Mughal miniatures at the British Museum splendidly reveals the spirit of the Mughal court and rule in India. The pictures cover the period from mid-16th to the late 18th century. The art of miniature painting enjoyed the personal patronage of



*"A group of Ascetics under banyan tree." Period of Shah Jehan, 1630. (British Museum).*

four successive generations of the imperial house from Humayun to Shah Jehan, and was intimately moulded both by their individual temperaments and also by the quickly developing character of the Mughal State.

Although of mixed Mongol and Turkish descent, the Mughal house came to India deeply rooted in Persian culture, and painting until Akbar's accession in 1556, was purely Persian. But Akbar set out from the beginning to form a new culture in India in which his Persian-speaking courtiers, officials and generals met and mixed with Hindu rajas, soldiers, scholars and artists. This concept is reflected in the school of painting which he patronised.

An attempt has been made at the exhibition to show the four main strands from which the Mughal style was woven. One group of paintings shows the predominance of the Persian element. In the time of Jehangir, fresh recruits from Persia were especially invited to join the imperial library workshop,

# FROM ALL QUARTERS

## US Aid to Siam

After his arrival back in Bangkok at the conclusion of his world tour, General Phao Sriyanonda, Siamese Chief of Police, announced that the US had allocated \$28m. up to the end of June, with the possibility of another allocation in 1955.

## Norwegian Advises Korean Trade Union

Following a request for help from the International Federation of Free Trade Unions made to the Norwegian TUC, 31-year-old ticket collector Sigurd Kvilekval is on his way to Seoul to help South Korean transport workers, primarily railway workers, to build up their trade union. He will stay in Korea for six months. This South Korean trade union has at present 320,000 members.

## Japanese Divers for Australian Pearls

Australia will employ more Japanese divers in an effort to stimulate production in the pearl industry on her northern coast. Pearl shell is a valuable source of dollar income and the introduction of Japanese divers is expected to yield Australia an additional 750,000 dollars yearly. It is believed that they will double the amount of shell taken by the fleets based on

A second set of pictures shows another phase in Mughal art which began in 1581 when European missions introduced western elements to the Mughal court. The Jesuits came from Antwerp and the examples of Christian art they brought were mainly Flemish. The court painters took a keen interest in the western methods of painting and paid particular attention to light and shade and perspective.

A third set of pictures shows the virile native style of Northern India in the 16th century on which the court style was grafted. It is this native stock from which most of the artists of the imperial atelier came that gives the whole Mughal school its unmistakable Indian character.

In a fourth group of miniatures can be seen the influence of the only court style flourishing in 16th century India independently of the Mughals. A fine centre of painting thrived under the patronage of the Adil Shahs at Bijapur in Deccan. It was a school that combined something of the tradition of the opulent wall painting of South India as represented by the last Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, with the fine draughtsmanship and skill in arabesque design of early Safavi Persia. When Akbar first enlarged his painting staff with Indian talent, it was here that he found his best recruits, and they contributed a virtuosity of draughtsmanship to be seen especially in the portraits (the rendering of the transparent white muslin, the use and tooling of gold) but also in the development of a richer palette than was to be found in the Persian miniatures.

The rest of the miniatures in the exhibition are arranged in chronological order. The British Museum's unrivalled collection of manuscripts provide a clear picture of the Jahangir period. The style of this period reflects the interest of the connoisseur

Darwin and Broome. Australia will allow about 130 more Japanese to be employed as divers and crew in the pearl fleets at Darwin and Broome. The Japanese will come to Australia for two years, under indenture. Most of the pearl shell taken by Australian fleets is sold in New York. It is thought that the decision to admit Japanese divers may save the Darwin fleet from extinction.

## Australian Minister's Visit to Formosa

Mr. Kent Hughes, the Australian Minister of the Interior, received an official welcome when he arrived in Taipah last month, at the time when the tension over the situation in the Straits was at its height. He denied that his visit was connected with a British plan to reopen diplomatic relations with the Kuomintang authorities. Although Great Britain does not recognise Chiang Kai-shek's Government, Australia still does. Canberra has no diplomatic relations with the Chinese People's Republic. Mr. Hughes is in Formosa to inspect war graves there in his capacity as Minister in charge of the Australian and New Zealand Agency of the Imperial War Graves Commission. As a colonel in the Australian Army he spent some time in Formosa as a prisoner of the Japanese.

emperor in the classical 10th century art of Persia and also in the natural world in which he delighted. The animal painting of the period is unsurpassed. The style under Shah Jehan was notable for the interest in character shown in the portraits and for the beginning of the genre painting, conversation pieces and romantic scenes.

Mughal art shows the first signs of decline in the reign of Shah Jehan. His passion was for monumental building (as is eloquently exemplified in the Taj Mahal) and architecture reached its zenith at that time. The last phase of Mughal art came with the reign

of the puritanical and bigoted Aurangazeb, who did not give much personal attention to art.

It lingered on, an imitative, decadent art, under the feeble emperors who succeeded him and had a slight revival at Lucknow under the Nawab of Oudh at the end of the 18th century. With the coming of British rule, Mughal art practically ceased to exist.

As a school of painting, Mughal art was of short duration, extending over only two and a half centuries. Art scholars have aptly referred to it not exactly as a school but more of a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art.



*The Flemish influence is visible in this painting (about 1650) of "European ladies taking a meal beside a lake" (British Museum)*

### Seeing Double

An interesting situation was created recently in the office of the Japanese cultural magazine *Kaizo* when the management appointed a new editor-in-chief. The eight other members of the editorial staff, because they strongly opposed the appointment, were dismissed by the management, but their union rejected the dismissal. The staff decided to go ahead and produce the magazine in the usual way. The new editor, with the backing of the management, carried out his duty and also put the journal into production. What this meant, in effect, was that the *Kaizo* issue for March would appear in duplicate. Distributors and booksellers were thrown into a dilemma because they did not know which of the issues to put on sale to the public. The latest information was that negotiations between management and union were proceeding, with little success, to resolve the dispute.

### US Agrarian Expert for Viet Nam

Wolf Ladejinski, the American expert in agrarian reform, arrived in Saigon last month as adviser to the US Operations Mission there. Mr. Ladejinski organised and directed the successful redistribution of land to small farmers during the occupation of Japan under General MacArthur.

### Chinese Arts and Crafts in Delhi

An exhibition of Chinese arts and crafts was opened in Delhi at the beginning of February by the Indian Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan. It was organised jointly by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, and includes pottery, porcelain, jade, stone and ivory carvings, figurines of clay, silverware and elaborate pieces of Chinese silk tapestry. A message from Mr. Nehru which was read at the opening, paid tribute to China's great artistic traditions.

### Indian Art Exhibition in Rome

An exhibition of Indian art was held in Rome at IsMEO (Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente), from January 8 to 22. It included Indian works of art from all epochs, ranging from Gupta sculptures, to modern paintings of Ukil, Jamini Roy, Subho Tagore, Avanindranath Tagore, and Jaganendranath Tagore. Among the exhibits were a very beautiful bronze Rama from Northern India, Shivaistic bronzes of the Madras School, and Buddhist stone sculptures of various epochs. Moghul miniatures were also represented, along with folk art from various parts of India.

### Hong Kong's Trade in 1954

In his review of Hong Kong's trade for last year, the Acting Director of Commerce and Industry, Mr. H. A. Angus, said that at first sight the Colony's trade achievements did not appear encouraging. Imports and exports for the full year were valued at HK \$5,852m., a reduction of \$754m. or 11 per cent., compared with the 1953 total. This drop, he added, would be a little disturbing were it not for the fact that the figures relating to the total volume of imports and exports give rather a different story. Cargo tonnages increased over those for 1953.

The value of merchandise imported during the year was HK \$3,435m., a decrease of 11 per cent. compared with 1953's total of \$3,872m. Imports from the United States and Japan showed significant increases, but there were considerable reductions in respect to the United Kingdom, China, Thailand, Belgium and Western Germany. The value of the Colony's exports, which was HK \$2,733m. in 1953, fell to \$2,417m. in 1954, a reduction of 11 per cent. China, Indonesia, Japan and

Thailand all recorded greatly reduced values, and although some other countries increased their imports from Hong Kong, notably the United Kingdom and South Korea, these were insufficient to counterbalance the decline in exports.

### The Maldives in Distress

The Prime Minister of the Maldivian Islands, Mr. Ibrahim Ali Didi, has sent an urgent radio appeal for foodstuffs from any possible source to avert the danger of famine on the islands. The serious food situation on the Maldives is due to a hurricane and subsequent floods which visited the islands recently. With its meagre resources, the Maldivian Government was finding it impossible to give adequate relief to the thousands affected by the catastrophe.

The All-Ceylon Muslim League, under its President Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel, Minister of Labour, has taken steps to relieve immediate distress on the Maldives, but Commonwealth or wider international assistance should be organised.

### Italian Impressions of China

Professor Francesco Flora of Milan University, Domenico Demarco of the University of Naples and Raffaele Ciferri, Professor at Pavia University, reported to a Rome audience their impressions of a recent two-month visit to China. As they represented the first Italian delegation to the Chinese People's Republic, there was great interest in their views on the chances of development of cultural and economic relations between Italy and China.

Professor Flora was particularly impressed with the speed with which educational problems were tackled in China, and was convinced that illiteracy had disappeared from the plains.

Besides education, building activity had won the second place in his admiration. Shanty quarters, and workers' slums, he said, had disappeared from all the cities he had seen. Chinese capitalists, Professor Flora said, are not hampered in their enterprise by the impending fear of a nationalisation of their industries ; they know that in that case they will find employment in State or mixed enterprises, or will shift to some new activity—as was the case of cotton and grain merchants when their commerce were taken over by the State. The net profits in private enterprises were divided as follows : 25 per cent. for dividends, 25 per cent. for reserve capital, 25 to 35 per cent. for taxes, and the remaining 15 to 25 per cent. for workers' welfare.

Professor Ciferri gave some interesting facts and figures on Chinese agriculture. While before the agrarian reform 80 per cent. of the cultivable land was in the hands of 17 per cent. of the population, today 80 per cent. of the population owned 100 per cent. of the cultivable land. But 700,000 tractors were needed to make the effects felt on the rice produce, while only 2,000 were available. Italy, with her advanced mechanical-agricultural industries could largely contribute to this need.

Asked whether he had seen anything of the persecution against the Catholic Church, Professor Flora related a conversation he had had with two Catholic priests who had owned that (1) Communications with the Roman See were regular ; (2) Two Chinese bishops had only recently been consecrated ; (3) China's Catholic University, which had remained without support, had been nationalised but was still led by a Catholic.

The three delegates announced that a programme for the encouragement of economic and cultural relations between China and Italy had been put before the Government. The Chinese, they said, were eager to have Italian experts in all fields to work in their country, and proposed exchanges of students and professors, and reciprocal grants of scholarships.

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# BOOKS on

**The Communist Party of India by M. R. MASANI (Verschoyle, 18s.)**

A reliable study of the Communist Party of India has been badly needed by students of Indian affairs. It was therefore with a keen sense of anticipation that I started this book. Regrettably, it must be stated at once that, in spite of Mr. Masani's comprehensive knowledge of his subject, it has very little value as a contribution either to international studies or to the literature of contemporary Indian politics.

The author is a militant anti-Communist, and this fact raises an intriguing query. We are informed that Mr. Masani's survey was "originally" undertaken at the instance of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Presumably this once august body then withdrew its support. When? The objective standards of academic freedom applied to international problems and personified by Professor Owen Lattimore have been in disgrace for the past half-dozen years in America and political conformism has been correspondingly in evidence. The most likely answer to our question would seem therefore to point back to at least 1949 if not before; a preferable solution would involve me in an apology (which would be made thankfully): namely, that, on the contrary, the Institute is in effect still the upholder of the American liberal tradition and only recently withdrew its support from Mr. Masani specifically on account of his virulent anti-Communism. For, this is yet another book about the Red Menace.

Admittedly, the Party's history before World War II is dull enough, though a different writer, even one sharing Mr. Masani's views, might have thought it better to concentrate on portraits of the main protagonists, on their backgrounds and characters. Apart from one back-handed compliment to their courage and stamina, handed out to all members of the CPI, towards the end of the book, Mr. Masani's insight into the motives and personalities of the men and women who were the outstanding members of the Party is entirely lacking. The Meerut Conspiracy case, the only really interesting event of the period, leads him to state, among his concluding comments on the trial and imprisonment of the accused: "The industrial situation improved noticeably. There was a cessation of strikes in general." And the lot of the textile and railway workers and members of other unions? Did that also "improve noticeably"? It is by ignoring such questions that Mr. Masani reduces the value of his book to very little. He is, of course, entitled to his opinion that, to the Communist leaders, the material condition of the workers concerned in strikes really meant nothing and that they were interested only in fomenting unrest. But the Communists claimed to represent these workers, and the labour conditions the Communists claimed were the cause of the strikes should have been Mr. Masani's concern just as much as the "industrial situation" which, for all his readers know, might very well have included a return to the same—exactly the same—conditions of poverty and low wages.

The cooperation between New Delhi and the CPI after Hitler's invasion of Russia was a political convenience which suited both parties well. It is a measure of the hold on the imagination of their peoples of Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah that the CPI, under these circumstances, not only failed to advance politically or in membership but found themselves at the end of the war "discredited and isolated." Unfortunately, however, Mr. Masani makes the elementary mistake of quoting at some length, in the same chapter, from that traditionally unreliable

# FAR EAST

source, an obviously much embittered ex-Communist Party official, S. S. Batlalava, in support of charges of conspiracy during the war years aimed mainly against potential members of the Indian National Army. He goes on to suggest that as part of their attempts to win over Gandhi, members of the CPI induced him to see the American film *Mission to Moscow*. This may or may not be true. But a totally different and more detailed account of this incident is given by Louis Fischer in his biography of Gandhi\* which must at least raise doubts in readers' minds.

The doubts continue as we read on. For example, Mr. D. N. Pritt is well known, both as an eminent Queen's Counsel and as a Communist sympathiser. But on what evidence does Mr. Masani assert (on p. 111) that Pritt's defence of the Telengana accused in 1950 was the *ostensible* reason for his presence in India? Another of the author's repeated assumptions is the existence of cultural friendship societies solely for the dissemination of Communist propaganda; as one who has seen some of the work of these societies at first hand I deny this categorically. These instances and many more lie in the realm of conjecture and not of deduction from factual knowledge and as such have no place in a "history." In a third example he reveals only too candidly his own opinions when he refers approvingly to the Bombay Government's decision to stop "members and adherents of the Communist Party from serving in government establishments including schools." Mr. Masani does not even bother to enquire into the definition of the word "adherents" in this context.

If further evidence were needed of this author's unreliability, his inability to understand Nehru's attitude to Communism should be sufficient. By implication, he adopts the American line that India's Prime Minister is allowing himself to be unduly influenced by Communist ideas. Nehru's viewpoint, after all, derives directly from that of Gandhi and is basically a religious one. It is that the principles upon which the Communist faith, or ideology, are founded are good principles. The Communist Manifesto is one of the great historical restatements of basically humanitarian ideals. But, like the teachings of the great religious founders and their disciples, the original message of Communism has become lost. The methods used to propagate it have distorted, misused and degraded it. But the original message and the ideals upon which it was based, remain as an inspiration and guide to those whose senses are not befogged by fear and power mania. It is quite clear, particularly since his return from China, that Nehru's eyes are wide open. There is good in Communism and he proclaims it. At the same time he is aware of its potential danger to Asia if misapplied, and he has rightly, if reluctantly, taken appropriate action against violent methods adopted by certain state Communist parties.

No one expects a historian to be impartial. But he should state historical facts impartially and he should quote all shades of opinion, not simply those with which he happens to agree. Written as a well-informed polemic against the Communists this book would at least have appeared in its true colours and would have been read by those wishing to reinforce their prejudices. But Mr. Masani claims to be writing history and his publishers claim that he has written the "standard work on the subject." Both claims are worthless.

IAN LE MAISTRE

\*Cape, 1951

## Danger in Kashmir

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**Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan** by P. THOMAS  
(George Allen and Unwin, 18s.)

I went through this book from cover to cover with a great deal of interest and enjoyment for I have long felt that something should be done to dispel the ignorance of much of the outside world as to the Christian communities of India and Pakistan and the role that Christianity has played in the history of these states. A comprehensive treatment of the subject is not possible within the compass of a volume of 250 pages, but such a volume, written in a popular style, is likely to reach many more readers than a bulkier and more learned treatise, and Mr. Thomas has certainly the qualifications needed for the authorship of the work. A member of the oldest Christian community of India, the Syrian Christians of Malabar, with a family tradition that goes back to a Brahmin ancestor who was converted by the Apostle Thomas, he has treated his subject from the historical viewpoint and opens with an account of the travels in the sub-continent of two of the Apostles, Thomas and Bartholomew. Chapters on the early Malabar Church tell of the great prestige enjoyed by the community and of a time when a Christian king ruled over a part of Malabar. Then the Portuguese came to Goa, and St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits followed. A remarkable story follows—that of the Jesuits who got themselves accepted as Brahmins from Rome in that stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy, Madura, and who obtained sanction from Rome for allowing converts to wear the *kudumi*—the tuft of long hair—and the sacred thread (tied on by a Christian priest). Another fascinating tale is that of the struggle between the Syrians and the Portuguese in which Bishops sent from the Middle East to Malabar were kidnapped and held in Goa and which eventually led to the division of what had been a single Church.

About this time the most tempting prize of all—the great Mogul himself—seemed within reach of the Catholic Church when Akbar entertained Jesuits and it was reported that he had been baptised on his death-bed. Nephews of Jehangir were later received into the Church, but a diplomatic rupture with Spain led to their reconversion to Islam. Another remarkable story is that of Begum Samru, the Christian princess of Sardhana, a woman of conspicuous ability and a benefactor of many worthy causes connected with churches of all denominations.

In more recent times the advent of Protestant missionaries, in the face of opposition from the Nabobs of the East India Company at first, and later with the support of British officialdom, has been of profound significance in the history of the new India and Pakistan of today. As Mr. Thomas points out, the progress of Christianity in Bengal had a great deal to do with the drive of educated Hindus to reform their own faith and the Brahmo-Samaj was born. Earlier—and here he is on more debatable ground—he sees the Hindu habit, of borrowing without acknowledgement, responsible for resemblances between traditional Hindu stories, including one from the Mahabharata, and Biblical stories. I wish, however, Mr. Thomas had laid more emphasis on the influence of Christianity on the literary renaissance in Bengal and on modern literature in India.

What of the future? Mr. Thomas sees little to fear for Christians in India while the present leadership lasts. But after the present generation passes, time alone will show if the same liberal tradition will be followed.

A valuable volume indeed, and it is no criticism of Mr. Thomas to say that I hope he will find time some day to write at greater length on the social impact of Christianity in India—on the emancipation of women, on education (and particularly on the education for national leadership in Christian colleges and schools that has produced most of the really progressive Indian and Pakistani leaders of today) and on social and welfare services everywhere.

BERNARD FONSECA

**India Since Independence** by ROBERT TRUMBULL (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 35 cents.)

This is one of the bi-monthly *Headline Series*. The author, who has been *New York Times* correspondent in New Delhi since 1947, presents a short and sympathetic survey of India's past, present and future problems, and attempts to explain her current Weltanschauung against the background of these to the puzzled, and often disapproving, American public. Pertinent, precise, with treadable corns reduced to a minimum. Imaginative lay-out for eight discussion meetings on the subject, including suggestions for Indian-produced visual aids in a "Talking it Over" section.

**Oceanic Art** by HERBERT TISCHNER, Photographs by Friedrich Hewicker (Thames and Hudson, 42s.)

This is not an attempt to give a detailed survey of Oceanic art as a whole but rather to record by means of carefully chosen illustrations its extraordinary range and vitality.

The illustrations are superb and, with a few exceptions, the choice could not be bettered. For a proper appreciation of the role played by this art in the social, religious and political systems in Oceania, the introduction by Dr. Herbert Tischner gives, within a small compass, some necessary facts. But the book is primarily a pictorial introduction to what is now recognised as not merely primitive but in many instances art which has reached a high level of achievement, whose underlying significance has not yet been fully appreciated. A magnificent book.

S.K.R.

**The Broader Way : A Woman's Life in the New Japan** by SUMIE SEO MISHIMA (Gollancz, 13s. 6d.)

**Daughter of the Pacific** by YOKO MATSUOKA (Heinemann, 15s.)

It is useful to read these two volumes in order to compare the reactions of two educated Japanese women to the events of the past fifteen years in their country. The authors have much in common. Both had received part of their education in America and become accustomed to the standards of a western democracy, both experienced a certain amount of difficulty in fitting into the social pattern of their own country on their return home, both underwent the ordeal of life in a much bombed Tokyo and knew what it was to have a home reduced to ashes, and both had the chance to be of some service to their country and to the Allied Powers because of their ability to think in English as well as Japanese. Yet the two books that have resulted from their experiences have many points of difference, though both are remarkably well written and very readable.

The feminist note in Mrs. Mishima's sub-title is evident throughout her book. It is contained in her opening sentence : "The war that ended in the moral and economic bankruptcy of the Japanese people, and that has brought problems of increased gravity and complexity for the world to face and, if possible, solve, has most strangely and unexpectedly brought me that final deliverance for which I have struggled so patiently and so desperately since 1928." Returning to Japan on the completion of her studies in the United States, she felt sadly disillusioned in the feudal atmosphere which she found, particularly with regard to women's rights. With considerable fortitude, she resolved to face the difficulties that she encountered as the wife of a professor and to help her step-children to order their own lives more successfully. She tells of the war and the difficulties that it brought to a family striving to maintain decent standards of life and of conduct. She had little time for thinking of the rights and wrongs of war in the struggle to keep her house going. But the occupation gave her the chance to do useful work as an interpreter in the trial of war criminals. At all times she was ready to use her position to help her own countrymen and countrywomen in trouble. Her story is rendered the more interesting by the interposition of tales to illustrate the change that has been brought about by the war in Japan, well-told real life stories of her own friends and acquaintances. Her own summing up of the transformation is characterised by a great feeling of satisfaction at the winning of a new place for women in Japanese society in the general upheaval that gave women the opportunity of new careers and often made a woman the mainstay of her family. She regards the American occupation as one of the most liberal military occupations in history and is almost uncritical in her admiration for American institutions, while she has only a vaguely expressed doubt as to the feasibility of the introduction of a new constitution with many ideas wholly new to Japan.

Mrs. Matsuoka's book is more mature. Her early experiences in the United States and Europe in the period of the early Japanese invasion of China brought home to her the state of world opinion regarding Japanese militarism. Journalistic assignments which took her to occupied China widened her outlook, and yet when war was declared on the United States in her own words "after recovering from this first shock, those of us who would have said 'No' loudly, had we been asked whether we were willing to fight America, reluctantly gave in to the situation and determined to make the best of it." The irrational emotional attachment she had for her country and people kept her from a passive or anti-Japanese attitude to the war and yet the surrender brought a feeling of relief though there

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was the bewildered feeling of a lack of a new purpose in life once the old aim of victory had been frustrated. After the war she used her knowledge of English to help the local police chief to deal with the occupying troops and later to assist foreign correspondents to get to know something of the country. She was still enough of a Japanese to resent slighting references to the Emperor, and while she is at all times interested in the emancipation of her sex, she realises that some signs of emancipation—like putting women into high offices and sending them to the Diet—can be used as window dressing. Nor is she able to conceal a feeling of puzzlement over the rights and wrongs of the case of the war trials which concluded at a time when power politics had seen a radical change since the war, or over the new world indignation over Japanese militarism which had been accepted for half a century.

ARGUS

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

INDIA has 11 major languages, spoken by millions of people, 147 languages, dialects and tribal tongues, each spoken by over 100,000 people and 720 languages and dialects spoken by less than 100,000. Although the situation is not so chaotic as the figures would indicate, they give some idea of the enormity of a problem that that country is faced with today. Much interesting information on the subject of linguistic States in India is contained in an article by Marshall Windmiller in the current number of *Pacific Affairs*, the quarterly journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. The writer notes that there is some justification in the charge made by Indians that it was the principle of "divide and rule" that determined provincial boundaries under the British Raj and observes that at any rate the British provincial demarcations seem to have been much more suitable to India's colonial status than to the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

Linguistic regionalism has had a great deal of influence on the politics of Andhra, a stronghold of Indian Communists, where elections were held recently. One of the main causes of the unpopularity of the National Congress in that area has been the slowness of the Party in recognising the linguistic feelings of the people.

According to Sir Ivor Jennings, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon and an authority on constitutional matters, who writes on "Politics in Ceylon since 1952" in the same issue, much of the distrust among the Colombo Powers towards American policies in the Far East is due to a fear that the conflict between capitalism and Communism will be fought on their soil. Thus,

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Contributors to this issue: Claude Lévi-Strauss, B. de Finetti, C. Cherry, L. Festinger, A. Tustin, R. C. Booton, Jr., G. Tintner, P. Thionet, E. Sibley.

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although they are fundamentally anti-Communist, so long as the United States follows its present policy of active defence against Communist expansion, they appear to be superficially pro-Communist in international affairs and anti-Communist in internal politics. He adds: "As soon as they begin to work out the consequences of this odd dichotomy, however, the Colombo Powers as an entity disintegrate."

The great lack of children's magazines in India has made Dr. G. S. Krishnayya start an all-India monthly magazine for teen-agers.

**The Two Chinas and The Overseas Chinese.** (*Contd. from page 20*). an old-standing situation. With the advent of the Republic, in 1911, with the swelling number of Chinese women going to South-East Asia, the number of Chinese schools there increased greatly. In them a strong nationalist spirit prevailed. Textbooks and teachers came from Kuomintang China, and this has continued till a few years ago. Only two years ago were Chinese textbooks in Malaya rewritten, purged of all pro-China material and given a pro-Malayan outlook. The result makes picturesque reading.

As to higher education, from the South-East Asian point of view this is even more unsatisfactory. Until 1948 it was automatic for Chinese school students to return to China for university studies and then go back to South-East Asia. Now, however, in Malaya, they are forbidden to return—and so every month a hundred or more young boys and girls "elope" to China to study, which means giving up seeing their families for a long time, perhaps for ever.

Quite recently Nanyang University, built with money collected from the Overseas Chinese communities, has been set up in Singapore under the chancellorship of Dr. Lin Yutang. It is the first attempt to provide some measure of higher education

Its emphasis, says the editor of *Sunshine*, will be "on citizenship training suited to the immediate needs of the home, neighbourhood, the country and our one world." Dr. Krishnayya has wide experience in education (he was for 25 years Professor of Education and Inspector of European Schools in Bombay and was the Educational Attaché at the Indian Embassy in Washington for three years from 1948) and the new magazine, therefore, promises to be a useful and progressive one. We hope the editor will take care to see that it does not become a mere addition to some of the school and college magazines. Too much emphasis on instruction could diminish its appeal for children and it would be wise to lay more stress on the entertainment aspect. Judging by the first two issues, we find that the writing often tends to be dry and stilted. Here is a sample from the inaugural issue: "Large-scale heavy industries seem to be his (Minoo Masani's) answer and though he does concede a place to the small-scale industries, the controversy around the issue of the large-scale versus the small-scale industries is now devoid of any meaning since the resources we can raise for investment in industry are very meagre and capital investment required per worker in large plants varies roughly between Rs. 3,000 and a lakh . . ."

The first number of *People's Viet-Nam*, a pictorial monthly published from Hanoi, has just reached us. It is attractive, with many pictures in black and white and colour. This issue is full of the excitement that has followed the victory of the People's Army over the French troops and carries an article on the Dien-Bien-Phu battle and a message from President Ho Chi Minh, issued at the conclusion of the Geneva Conference.

*Japan Quarterly*, published by the Asahi Newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 1 of which covers October to December, 1954, promises to be a thoughtful contribution to our understanding of Japan in the modern world. There are articles on the most pressing problems of the day—and one observer successfully predicted the fall of Mr. Yoshida's Cabinet, and the persons of those who would succeed him: it is a pity that most of this article is rendered out of date by the very event prophesied.

A careful study of Japan's relations with South-East Asia goes far to explain what may have appeared as a rather improper insistence on the fortunes of this area by Mr. Yoshida during his tour of the West.

There is a full-length review, with some good plates, of the excavation of the Liao tombs at Ch'ing-ling, and the student of Japanese literature is offered both a somewhat stilted translation of a short story by Ibuse Masaji, and a very meaty first instalment of a survey of Modern Japanese literature.

All in all, *Japan Quarterly* bears a very healthy look: there is nothing "sango rashii" about it (a Japanese term for a journal which looks as though it will fail at the third issue).

outside China. At first frowned upon by the British Colonial Office, it is now a *persona grata* project. But since most of the professors recruited have at one time or another been associated with the Nationalist Government (Dr. Lin himself resigned from his job as UN adviser to the Kuomintang to take up the chancellorship of the University), rumours have been circulated that the University would be an undercover Kuomintang organisation. Hence it has been somewhat cold-shouldered by certain of the young elements from Chinese schools, for whom the Kuomintang is the shameful past. However, Dr. Lin has made it very clear that the University was only interested in turning out good citizens of Malaya irrespective of race, and that Chinese politics would have no place in the campus.

It is high time that some semblance of cohesive and reasonable policy towards the Overseas Chinese is formulated; obviously any agreement between the independent countries of South-East Asia and Peking regarding dual nationality will be invalidated if Formosa insists on "protecting" its Overseas subjects. It will be interesting to watch development in the coming months. One thing is sure—the trials and sufferings of the Overseas Chinese communities are by no means over.

# MISCONCEPTIONS IN US FOREIGN POLICY

*By J. W. T. Cooper (Eastern World Diplomatic Correspondent)*

THE foreign policy of the United States, indeed of the western powers, in the post-war era has been confronted by two factors of great importance. Both have given to the conduct of international affairs, and the balancing of world power, an emphasis or direction quite different from that with which statesmen had to contend before the war. The first of these factors is the massive resurgence of the former subject races of Asia, and to some extent Africa, in throwing off the yoke of colonial domination and racial stigma ; the second is that negotiation and diplomacy cannot any longer be allowed to break down to the point of ultimatum without recognising that a resulting conflict could mean the thermo-nuclear destruction of mankind.

The emergence of the United States as an industrially powerful nation in the past fifteen years and the spread of Communism in Europe under the aegis of the Soviet Union, together with the revolution in China, has made the issues involved in the balance of power very clear cut. What has complicated the conduct of international relations in the western world has been the confusion of US foreign policy with the dictates of American conscience about moral and political rights and wrongs. The American nation is a young one, without a long tradition of outside relationships, whose liberal interpretation of the western democratic idea as applied to the function, rather than the election, of government, has led them to the conclusion that everyone has a stake in the country's conduct of affairs. Spokesmen and pressure groups of a political, business or religious flavour have thus been able to influence the courses of action taken by their Government.

The American people have approached their relationships with other nations on the assumption that they are the arbiters of what is good and right in the world, and the test of the success of American policy is whether these values are valid in the countries to which they are directed. Policy has more often than not been founded on the premise, especially in the case of the uncommitted nations of South-East Asia, that all those who are not with us are against us. And in their approach to the existence of Russian Communism they have been too ready to assume that Soviet leaders know in their hearts that revolutionary Socialism is morally wrong, that they do not really believe in it, and that soon they must recognise the "error of their ways."

This general American view of the world prevails in spite of facts which appear to non-Americans to be self evident. It is unreal, and because it stems from emotions and self-righteousness rather than from a recognition of the state of things as they are, there is a great element of danger in it. For who can say to what lengths people nurtured in an atmosphere of misguided, irresponsible and self-centred opinion will go, not only to defend what they believe is right, but to spread their beliefs with a crusading fervour. It would not be the first time in the history of the world that it had happened, but what makes the prospect so alarming is that it would be conducted in the name of democracy.

No one would deny that the United States is a great power, and that she has enormous responsibilities in the world, but this does not presuppose that the ideas which actuate her conduct in international relations are infallible. Mr. George Kennan, the American diplomat and scholar, in an important series of

lectures at Princeton University last year (now available in this country),\* urged that the US should "try to preserve at all times a correct relationship between power and responsibility," and he felt it necessary to remind his listeners (far wider in numbers than his actual audience) that America will not evade its responsibility "or spread it extensively by contriving to appear in the company of an international majority."

It has been said before that the Americans have a national inferiority complex ; the desire to be liked, so strong a characteristic with them, is a weakness when transferred to the plane of international responsibility. If, as Mr. Kennan says, policies are based on "the effort to cultivate favour," then their success lies in the reception or rejection of those favours. Although Mr. Kennan points out that in time recipients come to regard favours as rights, he lays insufficient emphasis on the reason for it, which surely is that national pride rejects obligation.

Americans are often critical of their Government's external policies if they do not seem to be founded on the yardstick of social life in the United States. Here again Mr. Kennan has something to say. "Let us not assume," he says, "that our moral values, based as they are on the specifics of our national tradition and the various religious outlooks represent in our country, necessarily have validity for people everywhere."

The antithesis to the American idea is the existence of Soviet power, and in this connection there has been much discussion around the policies of containment and liberation. They are in fact fundamental in American thinking, for Americans have a set idea of what the world should be like, of social, political and economic concepts and patterns of behaviour. Communist power and influence present a challenge to that idea. The failure of United States foreign policy is that in seeking to limit Communist influence or reduce Soviet power it ignores, or appears unable to recognise, the realities inherent in the two main issues of the post-war decade : the resurgence of the one time colonial peoples, who see no more merit in the western conception of a free world than in the rigid political ideology of the Communists ; and the possession by man of the means of annihilating himself. Mr. Kennan, himself the originator of the theory of containment, is very emphatic about where the policy of liberation would lead : "it would by every law of probability lead ultimately to war." He says that Russia cannot be conquered and that although for America the Soviet problem is a great one it cannot be suitably resolved by war. Yet American policies are still framed in such a way that they seem to hold war or "instant and massive retaliation" in reserve. This has been evident in the Far East recently, where the US consistently fails to take cognizance of the fact that in that area such a policy founders on the rocks of intangible ideas and states of mind.

As long as America continues to base its foreign policy on unreal factors there will, at best, be cause for constant concern but, in Mr. Kennan's words, "in the field of international affairs one should never be so sure of his analysis of the future as to permit it to become a source of complete despair."

\* *Realities of American Foreign Policy* by George F. Kennan (Oxford University Press, 10s. 6d.).

# THE VATICAN AND ITS TIES WITH CHINESE CATHOLICS

*By Alvise Scarfoglio (Rome)*

**O**N December 23, 1954, a Papal Encyclical letter to the Chinese Episcopacy was published in the *Osservatore Romano*. It was dated October 7, the festivity of Our Lady of the Rosary—probably in order to make it a manifestation of the Marian Year.

It came as a surprise, for most of it is dedicated to a subject which most people here believed to be dead for a long time ; that is, to the attempts at loosening Chinese Catholics from their allegiance to the Vatican. There was no allusion, either direct or indirect, to the Chinese State and Government, though the phrase “enemies of all religions,” used to indicate those who induce Catholics who are either simple-minded, or have been intimidated, to slacken their ties with Rome, is clearly intended for the Chinese Communists.

Rumours of a new movement aiming at founding a National Chinese Church independent from Rome had been circulated some time ago, but this project was reported to have met with complete failure. All that survived of it was a tendency to increase the native clergy as much as possible, and to dispense with foreign clergy at the earliest possible date ; but this is an aspiration common to all Asian Catholic Communities.

The encyclical therefore reopened a question that seemed almost buried, and sharply attacked the doctrine of the three autonomies—autonomy of government, economic autonomy, and autonomy of preaching—on which it would seem the Chinese Catholic National Church was to be founded. After defending the Chinese Catholics from the charge of lack of patriotism, the papal document reminds the faithful that the Vatican looks to the day when no more foreign missionaries will be needed, and that Rome is speeding up the formation of native clergy as much as possible, and has even gone as far as making a Chinese bishop a cardinal ; but in the meantime they should not forget that foreign missionaries come to their country for entirely selfless work, and that all earthly aims and considerations are completely removed from their minds. And the emancipation from foreign missionary staff can never mean what is called “autonomy of government,” and that obedience to the Bishop of Rome is necessary for communities who intend to stay within the fold of the Church founded by Christ. At the same time, while the Vatican hopes that the Christian Catholic Church in China will soon reach financial self-sufficiency, they do not admit that the Chinese Catholics should refuse financial help from foreign Catholic communities merely because they are foreign. To this end, the authority of the Apostle Paul is quoted. The third form of autonomy openly condemned is “autonomy of predication.” This is the point on which the encyclical dwells longest, as could be expected. The Vatican admits that the Gospel should be preached in the

national language, and that the methods of evangelisation should be adapted to the nature and character of the Chinese people ; but “how could the Gospel, divinely given by Jesus Christ be interpreted by men differently according to the different nations?”

The encyclical sums up with a vehement general condemnation “apertis verbis” of any attempt at founding national churches, since this would mean the automatic exclusion of any such communities from Catholicity.

The energetic tone which pervades the whole encyclical is an admission of the importance reached by the movement for a National Church in China, after it was believed to have died out altogether. Papal encyclicals are habitually the object of careful preparation and the present one contains three passages which show that there are adherents, who are trying to win more autonomy from the clergy in the administration of Church affairs. The first is the passage reminding that the Church is divided in two orders, the clergy and the laity ; the second is the one where the laity and the civil authorities are reminded that they should not interfere in the field of jurisdiction reserved for the Church (which, it should be remembered, includes the administration of Church property, and of the patrimonies of Church organisations). This latter point led to some disputes between the Archbishop of Bombay, Cardinal Gracias, and his flock). The third is the passage which states that the Bishops are the depositaries of Christian truth. In a word, the whole encyclical is a reassertion of the principle of submission of the laity to the clergy, and of submission of all clergy and laity to the Roman See.

No further details are known on the movement for a Chinese Church, and Vatican authorities are likely to remain as reserved on it as ever before. But the situation must not be void of danger, if the Vatican, who tried to combat no less an enemy than Luther by suffocation and silence, have deemed it wise to confront a far lesser opponent so openly. There is no doubt that preparations for a Far Eastern Counter Reformation are being made ; Formosa is filled with missionaries of every order, propaganda and conversions are being intensified. During the last year six thousand adult converts have been baptised, while four thousand new units have been added to the Formosan Catholic Community by child christenings and the immigration of refugees. On the other hand the “light cavalry” of the Counter Reformation, the Jesuits, have appeared on the scene, and twelve of them are teaching in Taiwan University.

It is difficult to foresee the future of a religion, history presenting here its greatest anomalies. But an impartial observer must warn the opponents of the Catholic Church against any hasty optimism ; few institutions have proved to have had a greater capacity for carrying on in the teeth of appalling odds.

## Letters to the Editor

### WHAT CHINA THINKS

SIR.—In your December issue, Mr. O. M. Green suggests that the present Peking Government is not really popular among the Chinese people. Does he mean that a popular insurrection is likely in the foreseeable future? There are malcontents under all forms of government, including our own.

The point which my relative, Captain C. E. Cookson, explained so forcibly, in your November issue, was that the Kuomintang had already been discredited. It is also interesting to note that Air Marshal Sir John Slessor, among many other competent observers, has expressed the opinion that "the new China has unquestionably come to stay as a World Power," see Mr. C. H. Jones' letter, also published in your December issue.

So far as I am aware, Captain Cookson was the first to suggest that "it would be a wise act of statesmanship to induce the leader of the Kuomintang to come to terms with the Peking Government, and thus avoid further bloodshed among the Chinese people." Now at last, in 1955, our Foreign Secretary and even some American leaders are begin-

ning to think that it would be advisable to arrange a truce.

Yours, etc.,  
Sutton, Surrey. M. N. COOKSON.

SIR.—I apologise for taking up your limited space in replying to Mr. O. M. Green's further defence of his interpretation of Raja Hutheesing's book *Window on China*. The book itself is not important enough to justify a lengthy correspondence, but what causes me concern is the amount of dangerous misconception there is in the West about the solidarity of the Communist regime in China.

Originally I took Mr. Green to task for citing Mr. Hutheesing's book in support of his contention that the people of China probably do not like their present Government. I do not think that Mr. Green's contention is correct, and I do not think the book supports it. It is clear from Mr. Green's writings elsewhere than in your journal that he is very antipathetic to the regime in China, not least perhaps because it has changed the face of the China he knew and loved. This is understandable, as is his gathering of material which seems to support his antipathy, but it does not alter facts.

There are evidences throughout Hutheesing's book of his scepticism that the new order in China is working, and it is right that this should be, but what I think remarkable is that even with this approach his book still conveys to us that the Chinese people are enthusiastic and that, thus far at any rate, Communism is bringing benefits to the ordinary people of China to a degree that no other rule has done for centuries. This is the value of the book.

Because I think it important that we in the West must not shut our eyes to the stability of the regime in China, and because I think it dangerous to clutch at straws which seem to prove that the Chinese people are turning against the Peking Government, I am accused of "Enthusiasm for the Chinese Communists." In my concern that the regime in China should not be considered impermanent merely because we do not like it I am in the good company of such eminent authorities as Professor C. P. Fitzgerald, Professor Benjamin Schwartz and Dr. Macmahon Ball. Finally, Sir, I would like to say how much I envy Mr. Green for knowing so certainly now what will be decided at the bar of history.

Yours, etc.,  
Selly Oak, Birmingham. WALTER BUNCE.  
(This correspondence is now closed. Ed.)

## PUPPETRY IN CEYLON

By J. Tilakasiri (*Peradeniya, Ceylon*)

"PUPPETRY," say the experts, "is as old as civilisation itself," for there is considerable evidence to show that the instinctive delight in dolls and puppets among primitive people has survived through the ages, developing into a medium of art and entertainment in modern times. Every country has a rich stock of stories and traditions tracing the origins of puppetry to remote times but nowhere is the evidence so fascinating as in Indian literature. Some claim that India contributed the art of the marionette just as she gave to the West the tale and the fable. Whatever the validity of this claim, many and varied are the allusions to puppets and animated figures in the legends scattered in Indian literature. And since the string puppet or marionette is perhaps the earliest form of puppet known to man (and certainly the most popular of puppet types in eastern countries today) it is interesting to examine, even briefly, the many traditional accounts about its origin.

As in the case of everything of Indian origin the puppets too were believed to have lived with the gods according to an early legend in ancient Indian literature. According to another, Parvati, the consort of God Siva, had made a very ingenious puppet, which she would not let her husband see for fear of evil consequences. This, we may infer, as a covert reference to the almost primitive fear that an animated figure could have been used for working harmful (as well as beneficial) effects on man in a magical manner. The story continues that Parvati carried it away secretly to the mountainous region and Siva who could not resist the temptation of seeing it followed his wife. At last when Siva succeeded in seeing the figure he was so taken up by



Dressing puppets



*The dancing girl (a very expressive figure)*

its beauty that he gave it life. If we strip off the legendary and mythical associations of this story we are clearly left with some important data bearing on the possible conclusion that carved figures may have been often used to mimic human movements. In a Sanskrit work consisting of stories (*Kathasaritsagara*) produced in the 11th century more references are made to the use of mechanical marionettes taking an active part in narratives of realistic stories. Mention is made, in these descriptions, of clever craftsmen who make the puppets fly in the air, dance, speak and do anything that human beings are capable of. Whether these references enable us to infer that puppet drama or even organised puppet shows were quite popular among the people of that time we cannot definitely say, but the ingenuity of the craftsmen and the sense of make-believe of the story-teller seems to have been admirably combined to make puppetry, in some form or other, an acceptable medium of entertainment in the lives of the ordinary men of those days.

Puppetry could not, of course, gain any permanent footing as the theatrical art on account of its obvious limitations and so in India and the other eastern countries it survived among the poorer classes, receiving their patronage and catering to their need for inexpensive entertainment. Even on this barren soil the artistic tradition managed to exist and with the recent revival of interest in folk arts in many eastern countries puppetry also received the attention of many. In South India, especially, puppetry has been skilfully employed to satisfy the demand for free amusement and the desire for religious instruction in the Hindu faith among the masses gathering together at festivals. Thus the well-known figures of Vedic and Hindu mythology are presented through puppets in the belief that religious feeling could best be roused through such a simple and easily enjoyable form of entertainment.

Ceylon most probably inherited the art, like her other forms of art and amusement, from India and preserves in certain parts of the country the same type of string puppetry referred to earlier. The method of manipulating puppets was known even in the days of her ancient kings, for references are made to puppets and manipulated images in the ancient literary works of Ceylon. Although puppetry was thus known in Ceylon at

such an early period, yet there is no record of a continued tradition or even a patronage of any significance. It still exists, however, in its primitive form and the reason for its survival perhaps lies in its traditional significance and its folk connections.

The puppeteers of Ceylon are a small group of performers confined to the south of Ceylon and that, too, to a particular coastal town. It is an art traditionally inherited by them and their love of their vocation is so great that in the face of insuperable odds they continue to keep the art alive. It is only during a festival or fair or a special occasion when crowds gather that they can hope to find a suitable audience for a series of shows at rates which have to be within the reach of the average man, say four or six pence a seat. Even then the spectators consider it hardly worth the money, for to many, puppetry is not entertainment to be paid for.

An effort was made a few years ago to introduce puppet drama to urban audiences of Colombo who had of course seen sporadic puppet shows at carnivals and fairs. The dramatic performance was sponsored by the newly formed Folklore Society and the play was performed on a theatrical stage adapted for the purpose. The audience which was for the most part the educated classes of the city was attracted to it by its novelty, but the obvious handicaps and disabilities which the puppeteers from the south face were none the less emphasised. The venture was not a financial success either, yet the dramatic potentialities of puppetry were fully realised and appreciated.

The troupes mentioned by me earlier are closely related to each other. Different groups of people contribute to the art in various ways pooling their technical skills to produce a successful show. We first have the carvers and craftsmen who cut out the wood (using a particular wood best suited for carving and decorating) and carve out the various parts of the body, limbs, face, etc. This requires a high degree of artistic skill for the likeness or near-likeness to the human form is an essential requirement if the finished puppets are to mimic the human characters successfully. The costuming of the characters is in the hands of people who have a good knowledge of the story, the characters and the historical background of the period. From then on to the time of fixing the stage and arranging for the performance many more types of skilled and unskilled persons come on to the scene. As the puppets are but dumb figures, animated to give the deception of realism, speech and movement are supplied by two sets of people, one making the puppets move their limbs by means of strings which they manipulate with bars (made of wood) held in their hands the other reciting the speech or dialogue appearing to issue from the mouths of puppets. The whole operation is supervised by the manager or leader of the troupe, who has to be conversant with the art in all its aspects, from the preliminary stage of carving the figures to the final stages of effective manipulation and mimic movement of the puppet actors.

The puppet stage is smaller in size than an ordinary stage for plays. The base of the puppet stage is set at a height of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the stage floor, hidden behind a dark screen. The stage is also divided into three parts, the part behind the main front screen being used for the principal scenes of the play, while the side portions are used for the subsidiary and minor scenes following the former. The average height of the puppets appearing on their stage is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, but some of the principal heroes of a play are made in life-size proportions.

There is a distinction to be made between sporadic puppet shows and puppet drama. What Ceylon puppeteers are more used to is the former variety which does not entail so much of

preparation as the latter where the arrangements should be on a scale necessary for drama proper. In fact puppet drama as practised in Ceylon has borrowed much from the theatre and, especially, from a variety of folk opera (of south Indian origin) called *nadagam*. (The word itself is Tamil for Sanskrit *natakam* meaning "drama.") Puppet drama employs entirely the instrumental music (supplied by the serepina and drums) and the texts containing the recitative and dialogue used in the latter performance. So great has the influence of this variety of drama been on the puppet play that even the duration of the latter, which has to be short to be appreciated properly, has been determined by the length of time taken to present a classical *nadagama*, usually occupying three to four hours for a complete staging of the story. This is definitely boring even for a rustic audience, who, however, feel amply compensated if comic interludes and secondary scenes announcing the prologue and interval provide enough amusement and humour. One reason for the failure of puppet drama, in Ceylon, to appeal to urban audiences is its close imitation of the traditional theatrical technique, which even on its own is fast losing its hold on the village crowds among whom it was popular in the past.

It is thus clear that puppetry has not developed here, and in other eastern countries to the same extent as in western countries,

where institutions, both amateur as well as professional, have made rapid advances in discovering and furthering the immense potentialities of puppetry, not only as a medium of entertainment but also as a means of educational and social development. One has only to remind oneself of the Educational Puppetry Association in England, the State Puppet Theatre of Moscow, the Marionette Theatre in Paris, not to mention the numerous other bodies devoted to the propagation and practice of the art in other European countries. It is indeed tragic that in countries like India and Ceylon, where the ancient and traditional art has ample scope for development in this manner, puppetry should be so badly neglected for want of enlightened interest and patronage. It is, no doubt, true that the theatrical sense, ideas of decor and methods of puppet presentation prevalent among the puppeteers (referred to in this article) are far behind the modern conceptions of puppet drama found in the West. Yet, the talent for puppetry is certainly there waiting to be exploited by an artistic-minded intelligentsia, who can help the puppeteers to evolve modern methods and techniques. The future is, however, not entirely gloomy, for the newly formed Arts Council of Ceylon has undertaken a programme of work whereby puppetry will be developed along with the other folk arts, for which Ceylon has acquired fame and prestige in foreign lands.

## THE REAL KING MONGKUT OF SIAM

*By Alexander B. Griswold (Baltimore, U.S.)*

SOME of my Siamese friends have a way of politely changing the subject when Americans ask them the routine question: what do they think of *Anna and the King* or *The King and I*? The fact is, they think both the film and the musical comedy present western audiences with a very silly caricature of a great man.

For the real King Mongkut was one of the greatest men Asia has ever known. Almost alone among Asian leaders King Mongkut could match the European empire-builders of the mid-19th century. While other rulers were feebly giving in to the conquerors or exhausting themselves with futile rage, he kept his country free. While others hoped to withdraw into safety by shutting out western influences, he recognised—as the Japanese were to recognise a few years later—that the only way for an Asian country to survive was to absorb these influences and modernise itself. Siam, he believed, would have to break with the conservative isolationism of the recent past, admit foreign trade and foreign ideas, revamp her old institutions. Her future rulers would have to learn the intricacies of western thought and science, diplomacy and statecraft.

During his seventeen-year reign he transformed the country's whole outlook. Establishing diplomatic relations with England, France and America he opened the land to a life-giving flow of foreign commerce. He set up printing presses, built roads and canals, and issued the first modern currency to take care of the requirements of his country's expanded trade. He reformed the administration, installed foreign advisers in government departments, called in English officers to improve the army and organise a police force. He stimulated education at home and sent young men abroad to study. He reaffirmed the freedom of religion and encouraged the Christian missionaries in their educational and medical work. He raised the condition of the slaves and insisted that the law should treat all ranks of men impartially.

The Siamese remember King Mongkut for all these things. No wonder they think it a pity that most westerners should be acquainted

The author served as a US Staff Officer in Asia during the war and became deeply interested in Thailand and Thai affairs. Since then he has frequently visited the country and has learned the Thai language. He has made a special study of Buddhist culture.

with this distinguished historical figure in a grotesque parody only.

But Hollywood and Broadway are only partly to blame. They have added some ill-chosen humour and some antics that are a shock to anyone who knows the courteous manners of Siamese ladies and gentlemen, but the real fault is in the basic source material.

It was in the 1870s, upon her return to the West after spending five years in Bangkok as a teacher to the King's children, that Anna published her two books—*The English Governess at the Siamese Court* and *The Romance of the Harem*. Though they purport to give "a full and faithful account of the scenes and the characters that were gradually unfolded" to Anna, and though they contain certain lovely descriptions of places which those of us who have some knowledge of Siam cannot recall without a pang of nostalgia, they are full of mistakes, exaggerations, and downright falsehoods.

Anna was a careless observer and a credulous listener. Her frequent mistranslations of Siamese phrases show that she never mastered the language. Apparently she never thought any piece of scandal improbable enough to require checking. Like many Victorian ladies she was always ready to suspect the worst.

She depicts the King as a ferocious monster. Some of the things she says about him may be due to honest errors, but a great many are deliberate fabrications—designed perhaps to satisfy her malice against a man whom she did not like, or perhaps to make her books sensational and therefore more readily saleable.

But her account of the King is by no means all unfavourable. Though she charges him with a long list of depravities that were largely her own invention, she admits his true greatness as well. She has high praise for his scholarship and his political good intentions, his reforms and his devotion to his people.

Instead of trying to expose Anna's errors one by one, I prefer only to suggest a general caution and to tell something of King Mongkut's real career. The truth is less gaudy than the fiction, but it is a noble story.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Siam was rapidly recovering from the disasters of the Burmese wars which had laid the country waste a generation before.

The ancient capital, fifty miles north of Bangkok, had once been a city larger than the London of those days. For more than four

hundred years it had been called "Lovely City of the Gods, Glorious and Impregnable." It had been splendid with tall white palaces and gilded spires—an Oriental Venice whose canals carried in stately procession the Royal barges, carved in the shape of slim dragons saddled with gleaming pavilions. The merchants of Europe and Asia had traded in its markets, while tributary princes sent silks and jewels and golden trees in offering to its mighty ruler. In its hundred monasteries the yellow-robed monks engaged in deep meditation, doing obeisance to the Buddha whose images were endlessly repeated in bronze or gilded stucco. But the strength of its armies did not match the splendour of its buildings. The Burmese captured the lovely city, stripped it of its greatest treasures, and left it a smoking ruin.

A year or two later the Siamese drove out the invaders, but they did not attempt to rebuild the old capital. Instead they founded a new one, farther down the river at Bangkok. First on the right bank and later on the left, palaces and monasteries began to rise, their architecture reproducing the remembered glories of the past.

At that time Siam was still a medieval country with little interest in the outside world. Wars at home, plus the French Revolution and its succeeding troubles in Europe, had brought to a standstill her once-thriving trade with Britain, France and Holland. She had no diplomatic relations with any country except China, no commerce with any countries but China and India. There was not a single pure-blooded Siamese who could speak any European language, while the only European residents were the French missionaries and a handful of Portuguese traders.

As there were few roads, people relied for the most part on water transport—the rivers of the country supplemented by a vast network of canals. Medicine was primitive, consisting chiefly of sorcery plus a few empirical treatments with herbal remedies or massage. Notions of geography and astronomy were based on the fabulous traditions of the Indians. There were no universities, and no schools outside the monasteries. Printing was unknown; books were scarce and expensive, for they existed only in the form of palm-leaf or paper volumes laboriously copied by hand.

The Buddhist religion was professed by the entire nation. But it was in the hands of a rather lackadaisical monkhood, whose beliefs were a strange distortion of the great Doctrine preached by the Buddha in India more than 2,300 years before. The Buddha, rejecting magic and ritual, had taught an ethical and psychological system in which the gods had no significant place; he had had but a single aim—mankind's release from suffering—and proposed a very direct method of achieving this aim by discipline of self and kindness to others. But in the course of time the Doctrine had become largely a matter of form and ritual, mystical trances and observances to assure rebirth under happy conditions. In their desire to store up a credit balance that would entitle them to a fortunate rebirth, people were inclined to neglect the major virtues in favour of mechanical "acts of merit," each of which had a predetermined value—so much for endowing a monastery, so much for presenting food to monks; so much for freeing a caged bird, so much for giving alms to a beggar. But if Buddhism, with its countless opportunities for merit-making, took care of the future life, there were the everyday problems of present existence to be faced—finding money, warding off accident and disease, softening the heart of the beloved. These matters were controlled by myriads of unseen spirits who haunted land and sea and sky. There was a spirit in every tree and rock, in every pool and stream, in every cloud and star. Spirits caused rain or drought, good crops or bad, success or failure in love and gambling and warfare. Though their malice was easy to incur and hard to escape, they could be placated with offerings of food and flowers or coerced with spells. Today only the simple take such spirits seriously; but in those times nearly everyone, no matter how cultivated, believed in them and devoted much effort to their propitiation.

The aristocratic arts flourished in the palaces. Kings and princes, aided by batteries of ghost-writers, composed poetry of a high order. They were the patrons of sculptors and painters, they maintained companies of skilled musicians, they loved to encourage the classical ballet. Scrupulous workmanship and a sure sense of design marked all the paraphernalia of princely life—from niello vases to golden jewellery accented with rough gems, from palanquins and howdahs to gaming tables and chessmen. The ladies of the palace, hidden

away from the sight of all men except their lord, beguiled their uneventful leisure with graceful pastimes. They carried the domestic arts to an unheard-of virtuosity, weaving and embroidering delicate cloths, preparing bouquets of delicious food, devoting a whole day to the construction of elaborate flower-pieces whose beauty must soon fade in the cruel sunshine.

The King was an absolute monarch, the Lord of Life, the incarnation of Deity itself. His subjects were his chattels, who existed only for his pleasure. All who approached him, whether ministers or slaves, crawled on hands and knees, reverently keeping their heads on a lower level than the August Feet. When he travelled the people were forbidden to look at him. Worshipped as a god and entitled to the most abject obedience, he was nevertheless much less absolute in fact than in theory. All his actions had to conform to iron-clad custom, and he was at the mercy of the educated classes. There was no fixed law to decide the succession; when a ruler died the new King was chosen by a council of princes and high officials. Their usual choice was the eldest son of the deceased King and his Queen, but it might be some other prince—and more than once during the past centuries the death of a ruler has been the signal for a *coup d'état*.

King Mongkut was fitted for his career of benevolent revolutionary and religious reformer by an education that must be unique in the annals of monarchy. When he came to the throne he was already forty-seven years old, and he had spent more than half his life as a Buddhist monk.

He was born in 1804. Being the eldest son of the King and Queen, he was regarded as heir-apparent to the throne. At the age of twenty he became a monk, for it was the custom, then as now, for all young men who could do so to assume the Yellow Robe for a few months so as to get a more exact knowledge of their religion. But ten days later his father, the reigning King, died suddenly. The council, meeting to choose a successor, unexpectedly decided in favour of Prince Mongkut's elder half-brother, who was the late King's son by a wife of non-Royal rank. Though his dynastic claims were therefore not as good as Prince Mongkut's, he was selected on the ground of his long experience in statecraft, since his late father—always more interested in art and literature than in government—had for many years relied on him to run the country. Prince Mongkut, knowing the council had acted under pressure, felt cheated. But he resigned himself to the situation; and now, though he had intended to remain a monk only a few months, he decided to stay on indefinitely—protected by the Yellow Robe from the dangers of politics. As it turned out, he did not again become a layman until twenty-seven years later when he ascended the throne upon the elder half-brother's death.

A westerner might suppose that such a long withdrawal from the cares of ordinary life would be the worst possible preparation for a ruler. On the contrary, it gave him an acute sense of reality and a knowledge of people he could not possibly have got amid the artificialities of palace life.

Prince Mongkut learned at first hand the meaning of humility and self-abnegation, the meaning of loyalty and friendship. In accordance with the usual practice, he made long pilgrimages on foot to different parts of the country, living on such food as the peasants and fishermen put into his begging-bowl. His travels gave him a knowledge of geography that was rare in those days of poor communications, while his friendly talks with the people gave him an insight into the minds and needs of his future subjects such as no Siamese ruler had ever had.

The first monastery where the Prince took up his residence was an establishment of "meditative" monks. Their meditations were not the vague musings that we associate with the word: they were self-induced trances that followed a prescribed system. Like Yoga, it was a system of special postures and breathing exercises, austerities and mental acrobatics, designed to give the practitioner complete control over all the functions of his body and mind. When properly done, these practices led to unusual clarity of thought, perhaps even clairvoyance; but they were also supposed to confer supernatural powers. Prince Mongkut became an expert in this system. He saw its real benefits; but he was disappointed because it could obviously not do all it claimed. Who had invented it, he wondered; what had

the Buddha himself taught about it? But his companions in the monastery could not tell him.

Since only a small part of the Buddhist scriptures had been translated into Siamese, he had to learn Pali. So he moved to another monastery where that language was taught; having soon mastered it, he plunged into a painstaking study of the texts.

These were years of inward spiritual distress for him. What was the real meaning of the Doctrine? The scriptures were immensely long and contained a wide variety of teaching; perhaps he already felt there was a certain inconsistency in them. One thing at least he was sure of: the Siamese monkhood as it was in those days was a sorry representative of the devoted Community the Buddha himself had organised to carry on his teachings. The rites were observed in a mechanical and sometimes slovenly way, discipline was lax, many monks were corrupt, few of them cared for scholarship.

But presently Prince Mongkut came to realise that there were more important things in Buddhism than formalities. In the ensuing years a number of young monks who shared his point of view gathered around him. They were zealous but open-minded students, eager to know the Doctrine and follow it. When he was made Abbot of the "Excellent Abode" Monastery in 1837, these monks became the nucleus of a new sect he founded to spearhead a reform movement within the church. The very name of the new sect was a constant reminder to its members that they must "Adhere to the Doctrine." But precisely what was this Doctrine they were to adhere to?

Prince Mongkut knew that the texts he had to work with were full of inaccuracies. They had been pieced together from fragments that survived in provincial towns when the old capital, with all its books, went up in flames. The most earnest efforts to correct them had not been wholly successful. He therefore sent to Ceylon to borrow another set—seventy volumes in all; then, having assembled the best Pali scholars in Siam, he had the different versions compared, revised, and copied.

A little before this time he had come in contact with a new and important influence—western thought. A French Catholic bishop taught him Latin, an American Presbyterian minister taught him English. These two men became his close friends. They introduced him to the study of modern science, especially geography and astronomy, in which he became passionately interested; they gave him some idea of comparative religion; they lent him books. As he learned more about Christianity he saw a great deal of good in it, for its ethics were surprisingly close to the ethics of Buddhism; but he would not accept its Bible stories. More than once he gently said to his Christian friends: "What you teach people to do is admirable, but what you teach them to believe is foolish."

But if there were foolish stories in the Bible, were there not just as many in the Buddhist scriptures? The Buddhist writers conceived of the earth as a flat disk surrounding a central mountain on which the gods dwelt: was that not just as contrary to science and common sense as the Biblical account of the Creation? The Prince was too honest to deny it. The absurdities ought to be rejected and the real Doctrine preserved; but how? A critical study of the texts, not in the spirit of faith, but in the light of reason, should give the answer.

Prince Mongkut had seen how easy it is for mistakes to creep into manuscripts, and he knew that four hundred years had elapsed between the Buddha's lifetime and the writing of the scriptures—four hundred years during which the teachings had been passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth.

In a touching passage, which was surely genuine, the Buddha had authorised a certain scepticism. He had begged his disciples not to accept any belief merely because it was handed down by tradition or preached by some respected teacher—even himself; they must test every belief with their own powers of reason. This was the criterion Prince Mongkut and his followers used, and the reconstruction of the true Doctrine followed naturally. The miracles were exaggerations, the accounts of gods and demons simply parables that had become confused with historical record, the absurd cosmography a spurious insertion.

When the errors were stripped away, the Doctrine re-emerged as a moral system of incomparable beauty. It was this Doctrine to which the reform sect must adhere. A particular way of wearing the Yellow Robe, a particular way of carrying the begging-bowl—these



*King Mongkut in deep religious meditation when he was already out of the priesthood and was king*

were the external badges of the sect; but infinitely more important was devotion to learning, freedom from superstition, zeal for restoring the great ethical and moral principles to their proper place. In this sect there was no selling of spells and love-philtres, no casting of horoscopes, no propitiation of spirits. Prince Mongkut and his followers gave morality a fresh meaning, making its most serious aspects known to the people at large in terms that they could easily understand—this Buddhism was to be the heritage of the whole people, not merely the monks. The services had formerly consisted only of incomprehensible Pali chanting; but the new sect added sermons in Siamese. They attracted crowds of listeners. Again and again they preached the five main precepts—abstention from falsehood, theft, murder, intoxication, and adultery. They urged both monks and laymen to realise the necessity of self-restraint, kindness, and tolerance in daily life.

By his judicious selections and rejections, Prince Mongkut had created a new Buddhism—or, as he more modestly thought, revived the original Doctrine.

The reforms did not please all Buddhists. Some conservative monks held to the old practices from conviction, some from self-interest. Prince Mongkut had no authority to change the Church as a whole. But the reform sect, partly because of its intrinsic superiority and perhaps even more because of Prince Mongkut's personal magnetism, attracted many of the best minds. And little by little the rest of the Church was forced to take note of its example and to correct its own most glaring deficiencies.

After Prince Mongkut became King in 1851, he took care not to favour the reform sect over the Church in general. He wanted people to do right because they believed in doing right, not because they were commanded to do so.

*(to be continued)*

# ECONOMIC SECTION

## PAKISTAN GOES INDUSTRIAL

By Neil P. Ruzic

**A** NATION'S speed of industrialisation closely parallels growth of its machine tool industry. This axiom applies especially to the new country of Pakistan.

The economy of what is now Pakistan was disrupted severely when Partition occurred in August, 1947. The struggling nation then was set back by a mass exodus of skilled labour and capital and heavy losses in industrial equipment and materials. Primarily agricultural, the country was reborn into a world of competing technologies with only a few industries of its own and only a handful of technically trained Pakistani in all fields.

The new Government, recognising the inherent weakness of an economy based solely on agriculture, initiated a policy of maximum industrialisation. The Government

openly acknowledged that its survival depended on making use of foreign technical assistance—at least until the country's own young men could be trained to man the factories.

It was this reasoning that led to the US Foreign Operations Administration contracting with Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. Under the scope of the contract, George D. Thomas, veteran machine tool technologist, was sent to Pakistan. (The overall aid programme in Pakistan included additional Foundation projects for aid to the refractory, steel, and automotive transport industries.)

Thomas arrived in Karachi in June, 1953, and began to survey factories in the Karachi area and Punjab. To have provided detailed aid to each plant included in the extensive survey would have exceeded by far the time limit of the project. But the survey was well worth its six weeks because it constituted a cross-section of the technological status of Pakistan industry and permitted the Armour Research Foundation technologist to note those that particularly could benefit from his assistance.

Since it was difficult to obtain import licences, new machinery and equipment were recommended only when absolutely necessary. Utilisation of existing machinery and changes that would involve only small expenditures were at the forefront of all recommendations.

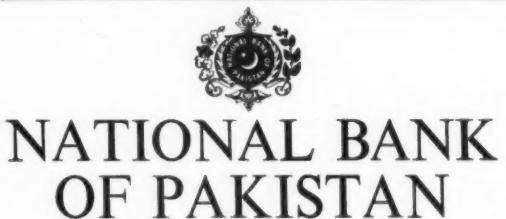
For example, a concern that manufactures drainage pipe, castings, and does miscellaneous foundry work, boosted its production of pulleys 100 per cent. merely by adding a low-cost adjustable gaging point to the press brake of a pulley drum. This simple change resulted in a monthly saving of more than 60 times the cost of the gage.

In another plant, it was suggested that the advantages of specialisation be utilised. The business existed primarily as a service shop for tractors and road-building equipment, but foundry and machine shop production also was carried on. The owners were told that it would be more efficient to use the service shop for service work only and to discontinue the other activities.

In many plants, instructions were given in the maintenance of machine tools. It was necessary, for instance, to stress the importance of correctly repointing drills. No matter how well designed and heat-treated, a drill will fail if the point is not ground properly, Thomas explained. But repointing by hand requires great skill and care—not usually available in most industries—and so the use of a point grinding machine was recommended.

Thomas emphasised, therefore, that drills be repointed at the first sign of dullness, that a soft, medium grain grinding wheel be used, that the drill should be ground on the face of the wheel and not on the side, that—if the drill became overheated during grinding—it was to be allowed to cool in the air and never immersed in water. Such on-the-spot lessons effected tremendous savings in checked or otherwise ruined drills.

In other plants, Thomas found die designing to be



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The author of this article which is based on Mr. George D. Thomas's reports, is a member of the staff of The Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, U.S.A.

extremely poor because proper heat treatment and materials were not used. Often he drew sketches for correct designing of dies and submitted specifications for materials and heat treatment.

As the work progressed and the numerous conferences with officials of both Governments were under way, the scope of the project was defined more completely and a framework of operation was established. It was decided that the programme should emphasise :

- (1) The mechanisation of hand operations wherever economical.
- (2) Training of certain skilled men in modern techniques so they could continue the programme after termination of the project.
- (3) Plant layout, recommendations, new manufacturing methods, standardisation, and quality control.
- (4) Raw materials and new uses for old materials from the viewpoint of reducing costs and improving products.
- (5) That accuracy of the work no longer depends on the workers' skill, but rather on the accuracy of the tools.

The last-named concept was against tradition established by long years of individual craftsmanship that comprised a large part of the country's industry. Thomas spoke well of the Pakistani worker, whom he called an excellent artisan, but usually having little or no technical training.

One colourful aspect of the tradition-steeped factory worker was his habit of working while in a squatting position. When Thomas suggested that a stool would make a worker more comfortable, one was provided. But the worker continued to squat—on the stool !

One of the most ironic sights confronting Thomas during his inspection trips were the rusting piles of heavy equipment paradoxically neglected while routine operations had to be performed by hand.

It was easy for the Armour Research Foundation technologist to understand how such a situation had

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developed. Whenever an in-use piece of equipment required nuts, bolts, screws, wire, or other parts, the idle equipment was "cannibalised" to fill the need until it became completely useless. Where such situations existed, Thomas strongly urged that adequate stocks of spare parts be set up to maintain the equipment at hand.

Acceptance of the technologist's assistance was widespread in Pakistan—so much so that the Pakistani Government requested that the Foundation be retained for two years more. After a brief home leave, Thomas returned to Pakistan in October, 1954, to continue his advisory work.

The Pakistan factory owners eagerly await the technologist's visit to their shops—and for good reason. During the first one-year tour, many industries doubled and trebled their output. In one case, a fan factory increased production of bearings from five to 300 pieces an hour. In another instance, formerly overcrowded fountain pen plant was transformed through a new operations layout so that it now has a surplus of space.

Countless other examples of output records made and broken followed in the path of the machine tool technologist through a multitude of factories. These plants, many of them small, manufacture diverse products—hardware, surgical equipment, gold and silver wiring, toys, ivory inlays, hosiery, furniture, paint, locks—the goods and services that go into the development of an industrial nation.

## DEVELOPMENT OF KARACHI PORT

*By our Karachi Correspondent*

THE Port of Karachi has had to deal with the entire seaborne traffic of West Pakistan since August, 1947. There has been a steady increase in the tonnage handled by the port and while 2,184,000 tons (imports and exports) passed through the port in 1947-48, the figure grew to nearly 4m. tons in 1952-53 and 3,654,000 tons in 1953-54.

Apart from the progressive increase in tonnage, there has been a change in the trend of traffic handled at the port. The bulk of the traffic originally consisted of cotton and wheat exports from the Punjab and Sind, and the railway yard was designed to meet the requirement of all movements from the hinterland to the storage areas and from there to the shipside. But since Partition there has been a considerable increase in imports, which now comprise about 60 per cent. of the total traffic handled at the port, and as this traffic could not be done at the west wharf alone, much of it had to be transferred to the east wharf. This imposed excessive strain on the east wharves and the need for their reconstruction became a matter of paramount importance.

In order to modernise the port and to make it adequate, the Karachi Port Trust Scheme for the reconstruction of the east wharves at a cost of Rs. 78m., has been approved by the Ministry of Communications. Work on the project, which is one of the major ones undertaken in Pakistan, will start immediately.

Out of the Rs. 78m. required, the external expenditure is expected to be about Rs. 36m., for which the Government of Pakistan are negotiating a loan from the World Bank. The balance required in local currency, viz., Rs. 42m., will be financed by the Port Trust from its own resources assisted, if necessary, by a loan from the Central Government.

The project is broadly divided into two main phases : (1) the construction of the quay wall, and (2) remodelling of the yard behind the quay wall.

The designs of the berths and the layout of the railway yards were finalised in consultation with the North Western Railway and the Port Trust consulting engineers, Messrs. Rendel, Palmer & Tritton, London. In the preparation of the new layout care has been taken to remove the drawbacks in the existing east wharves.

Volker Aanneming Maatschappij N.V., The Hague, were awarded the contract for the construction of a new 1.2 mile concrete quay wall after the removal of thirteen old landing stages. The work, which will take 3½ years to complete, is to begin immediately. The value of this contract is Rs. 30.6m.



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The remodelling of the yard behind the quay wall included the construction of single-storey transit sheds, storage plinths, overflow plinths, trade plinths, roads, bridges, drainage, electric lighting, pipelines for oil, fresh and salt water, and the remodelling of the railway yard.

During the last few years certain modernisations of the port have been carried out. Chance-Londex Ltd., London, supplied 4 electric buoy lights which were supplied in 1952. (The buoys were manufactured by the Karachi Port Trust.) The same firm supplied in the autumn of 1952 unattended battery operated lighthouse equipment, a diesel engine charging set at the station which operates under manual control. This apparatus was installed at the Bara Andai Light on Oyster Island.

The new project will make the Port of Karachi adequate for the needs of the economy of West Pakistan and, at the same time, achieve a considerable reduction in the annual maintenance cost.

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# INDUSTRIAL CREDIT AND INVESTMENT CORPORATION OF INDIA

**A**T the beginning of this year the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd. was registered in Bombay under the Indian Companies Act. Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the new Corporation, stated that the essential objective of the Corporation would be to assist enterprise in the private sector to develop, expand or modernise it. He declared, that the Corporation would encourage and promote participation of private capital—both internally and externally—in such enterprises. The Corporation would provide finance in the form of long or medium-term loans, guarantee loans from other investment sources and also furnish technical and administrative advice. He added that the pace of industrialisation—both in the public and in the private sector—needed quickening, and that the Second Five-Year Plan would be the best means of raising the standard of living of the Indian people.

The financing of the economic development of the public as well as of the private sector constitutes one of the major problems with which the South-East Asian countries are faced, whereby the fluctuation of the prices of the main export commodities of that area adds to the uncertainties of availability of financial resources. While the problems of financing private sector developments are interrelated with questions of the financing of public sector development (recently a Working Party of the ECAFE discussed the problem of deficit finance), the

finding of necessary risk capital meets with additional difficulties in under-developed countries.

In India, the lack of risk capital has always been one of the major impediments to the growth of industry. During the Second World War and the immediate post-war period substantial investments were possible, but since 1948 it has been difficult for even the largest and best established concerns to raise new capital in the Indian market, and even these concerns have had to rely mainly on issues of fixed-interest securities rather than of equity capital.

The First Five-Year Plan (1951-56) relied to a great extent upon the industrial expansion of the private sector, but new investment and that envisaged for modernisation and renewal of plant and equipment have been below the level hoped for. The nature of the new Corporation and the sponsorship received from leading financial institutions in India and abroad, should enable it to tap funds in India which in the past were not made available to industry, and also to increase the flow of foreign investment into India. The Corporation's powers to underwrite new issues fill a major gap in the Indian capital market. The new Corporation—through its connections abroad—is also in a position to assist Indian industry to meet its needs for technical knowledge and managerial experience, which are almost as pressing as the need for finance.

The Corporation has been established as a result of



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discussions which began at the end of 1953, the visit to India by a mission of the World Bank in February, 1954, when a Steering Committee of five prominent Indian business men (Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Biran Mookerjee, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr. A. D. Shroff, and Mr. G. D. Birla) was set up, and the meeting in October, 1954, when representatives of the Steering Committee, of the Government of India and of the British and American investors, together with officials of the World Bank reached agreement on all major points. The World Bank has approved a loan of \$10m. The proceeds of this loan are to be used for the purchase of imported material, equipment and services which are required to carry out private industrial projects financed by the Corporation. The loan is for a term of 15 years bearing an interest of 4½ per cent. p.a. (including the statutory 1 per cent. commission charged by the Bank). Amortisation will begin January 1, 1960. The Government of India guarantees the loan.

The Government of India will make a 30-year advance of Rs. 75m. to the Corporation, free of interest and repayable in 15 equal annual instalments, beginning in the sixteenth year. The Government will use funds from the proceeds of the sale of steel supplied by the Foreign Operation Administration of the USA, and will make the advance to the Corporation, when the share capital has been subscribed.

The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 250m., divided into 500,000 Ordinary shares (common stock), and 2 million unclassified shares—all with par value of Rs. 100 each. Investors in the United Kingdom have undertaken to subscribe to 100,000 shares (Rs. 10m.), the investors in the USA to 50,000 shares (Rs. 5m.), while the remaining 350,000 shares out of the initially issued 500,000 Ordinary shares (Rs. 50m.) will be sold in India.

UK financial institutions and industrial enterprises have proved again by subscribing to the equity capital of the new Corporation that they are actively interested in Anglo-Indian economic cooperation and that they have confidence in the scope of India's economic development. The British group

subscribing to equity capital includes eight eastern exchange banks :

Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, Mercantile Bank of India, National Bank of India, The Eastern Bank, The British Bank for the Middle East, Lloyds Bank (Eastern Department), Grindlays Bank.

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Among further subscribers are The Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd. and the following industrial concerns :

Associated Electrical Industries Ltd., English Electric Co., Ltd., General Electric Co., Ltd., Guest, Keen & Nettlefold Ltd., Gray Dawes & Company.

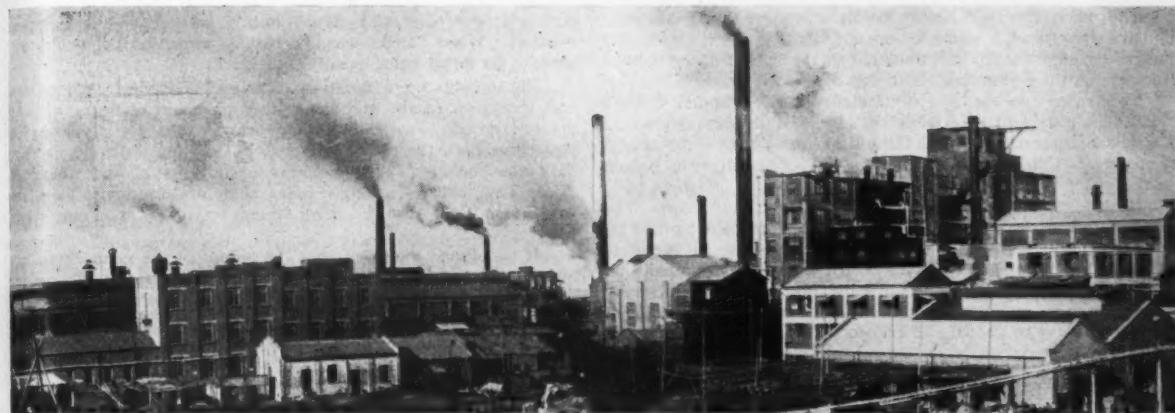
In addition to financial participation a personal link has been established between the London City and the new Corporation. Mr. P. S. Beale has resigned his position as Chief Cashier of the Bank of England to become the General Manager of the Corporation, while Mr. W. R. Cockburn (Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China) and Mr. J. G. Beevor (Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd., and Legal and General Assurance Society Ltd.) are members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

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## THE YUNGLI COMPANY: PIONEER OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN CHINA

*By Hou Teh-pang (Peking)*

THIS is the story of one of China's pioneer chemical plants. It tells how a small group of technicians and business men in old China, of whom the author of this article was one, fought against all sorts of domestic and foreign obstacles to set it up. It tells how the young industry was caught up in the toils of invasion and war and partially wrecked, and how it had to be rebuilt almost from the start.

The story begins in 1914, when Fan Hsu-tung, a chemical analyst who had studied in China, Japan and Germany, was successful in establishing the nation's first modern salt refinery—the Chiuta Salt Refining Company at Tangku in Hopei province. Salt refining is a simple process, but the setting up of this enterprise met many difficulties, particularly from the powerful opposition of old-style salt merchants to whom salt processing had been farmed out under a centuries-old feudal State monopoly. But the difficulties were overcome and the plant was built. As a result the Chinese people got pure, clean salt for table use for the first time, and other refineries on the same model were established in different parts of the country.

The success of the Chiuta refinery encouraged Fan Hsu-tung to work on a more ambitious plan which he had had in mind—the domestic production of alkali (soda-ash). Up to that time, Chinese industries which needed soda-ash and caustic soda for their work—textiles, paper-making, glass, enamel, soap-making and others—had been entirely at the mercy of foreign suppliers. The dangers of such a position became fully apparent during the First World War, when the import of caustic soda to China first dwindled and then ceased entirely, bringing many factories to a complete standstill. To prevent this from ever happening again, Fan Hsu-tung and his co-workers started the Pacific Alkali Co., Ltd. (predecessor of the present Yungli Chemical Industries, Ltd.). It was organised with a very small capital on a 30-acre site adjacent to the Chiuta salt refinery.

The plan was to build a Solvay process soda plant with a daily output of 15 tons of soda-ash. The process, invented by a Belgian of that name, was tightly controlled by the monopolistic Solvay Syndicate with its headquarters in Brussels, which possessed some 36 plants in many countries. Technical details were kept strictly within the syndicate and given only to its own plants. Employees were forbidden to write books or articles, or to reveal the process to the outside world.

Mr. T. P. Hou is general manager of the Yungli Chemical Industries Ltd., now a joint state-private enterprise with factories in Tangku and Nanking. He is a deputy to the National People's Congress and a Fellow of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (*Academia Sinica*) as well as an honorary member of the Society of Chemical Industry, London.

Our group had neither the full specifications for a plant of this kind nor the possibility of buying machinery and equipment abroad. All we had to work with was our pooled knowledge and experience; one of our number had studied the Solvay process in the United States and for a short time we retained the services of an American engineer. Naturally, at the start many mistakes were made. The plant was too small, the capital invested was inadequate and the planned capacity of 15 tons per day was uneconomic even for the smallest Solvay unit. What is more, the World War being over, foreign competition had to be faced once more.

For the first nine years after its completion in 1921, the young chemical plant had to struggle daily for its existence. It took some time to bring the quality of its product up to international standards, the output was pitifully inadequate, the cost of production too high. Tariff protection against foreign competition was not available at all, because China was then a semi-colonial country, bound hand and foot by unequal treaties which, among other things, forbade her to impose more than 5 per cent. duty on any imports whatsoever.

Our foreign competitors made every effort, subtle and open, to smash the Chinese soda-ash industry. Fan Hsu-tung used to relate how in 1922, when production had barely begun, he encountered E. S. Little, Jr., the China representative of the giant British chemical firm of Brunner-Mond (now Imperial Chemical Industries). The conversation turned on the Yungli soda plant, and Mr. Little remarked: "I'm sorry to say it, but you've started this industry 30 years too early." To this Fan retorted, "For my part, I consider it 30 years too late!" Four years later, in the spring of 1925, when Yungli had already a place in the market, the Vice-Chairman of Brunner-Mond's board of directors in London came to China and arranged a conference with Fan Hsu-tung at Dairen, at which the author was present. He offered to invest British capital in the Yungli Company and give it technical assistance on one condition—that Brunner-Mond be allowed to come in as partners. Fan Hsu-tung refused, saying, "Yungli's charter restricts the shareholders to Chinese citizens. Violation of the charter would nullify its purpose." This ended the conference. Within less than a year, the price of foreign soda-ash in China was cut by 40 per cent., in an obvious effort to drive us into bankruptcy.

But by then production was already between 30 and 50 tons a day. In a counter-move to foreign price-slashing, Fan Hsu-tung succeeded in getting some orders for the export of soda-ash to Japan, where Brunner-Mond had had a large exclusive market for decades. In their alarm at this move, they tried once more to negotiate a deal.

The outcome was a victory for us. Brunner-Mond conceded Yungli's right to sell a stipulated quantity in Japan each month and Yungli agreed to make the transactions through Brunner-Mond's agencies. A three-year contract to this effect was signed.

This success in the face of foreign pressure inspired China's chemical industry with new confidence. By 1937, domestic production of soda-ash had reached between 180 and 200 tons a day and the volume of sales inside China was higher than the total of imports from Britain for that year.

In the meantime, however, a new threat had arisen. The Japanese militarists, in 1931, had invaded and occupied North-East China. Almost immediately afterwards they began to penetrate south of the Great Wall : economically, politically and finally by direct invasion. Because of the cowardly policy of Chiang Kai-shek, Tangku fell in 1937 without a fight and the plant with it. The invaders tried to persuade or coerce Fan Hsu-tung to work for them, but he refused and managed gradually to evacuate all the personnel from the plant. Most of them accompanied him to the unoccupied areas in the south, while some remained in guerilla units behind the Japanese lines. Not a single staff member or technician remained to work for the enemy. For the next eight years the Japanese tried to operate the plant with forced Chinese labour, but production never reached more than 50 per cent. of its normal output.

With the staff members of the Tangku factory and another Yungli factory that had been set up in Nanking, Fan Hsu-tung withdrew to Hankow. His intention was to set up a chemical plant there to assist the war against Japan. But it soon became clear that the Japanese would take Hankow too, so a small Le Blanc soda process plant was set up near Chengtu in Szechuan province, a long distance inland. The author, with a group of students, was sent first to Germany and then to the USA to prepare plans and designs for an ammonium sulphate plant and procure the necessary machinery and equipment. The machinery was purchased, but its transport over the Burma Road—the only route then open to China's interior—proved so difficult that the bulk of it never arrived. The ammonium sulphate plant was left unbuilt till the end of the war.

After the Japanese surrender of August 15, 1945, the Yungli soda plant at Tangku was returned to its owners. After eight years of enemy occupation, the equipment and machinery were in poor shape. Before they could be got into working condition again, Fan Hsu-tung died suddenly on October 4, 1945.

The passing of this capable industrialist at a time when his services were so much needed was generally mourned. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, then in Chunking for negotiations to head off civil war, sent a memorial inscription consisting of eight characters written on white silk. It read : "An Eminent Leader of Industry. A Meritorious Contributor to the Nation."

After Fan Hsu-tung's death, the author was charged with the responsibilities of general manager. It took eight months to put the plant back into full operation again. Even then, hard times followed. The Kuomintang had precipitated a civil war, the country was disorganized and its economy bankrupt. The value of paper currency dwindled to nothing almost overnight. Not trusting the money, everyone who could do so hoarded goods. There were times when the sale of our product could not pay for the raw material for further production.

Then another blow fell. In 1949, during the last stages of the

civil war, the plant was turned into a battleground and almost wrecked. When Tangku was liberated, it seemed as if it would take years to get things going again.

But this was a new situation. The people, having taken matters into their own hands, were determined to restore industry with all possible speed. The People's Government did everything in its power to achieve this end. The repair of the Tangku plant began five days after liberation. Within a month production had been resumed in the least damaged sections. Helped by a Government loan, the workers and staff started a drive to step up output and bring down costs.

It was found, however, that the output of the plant could not immediately find a sale. Industry as a whole was still painfully getting back into production, prices and currency were in the early stages of stabilisation and the market was limited. Several hundred thousand tons of products accumulated in our warehouses. We were helped out of this predicament when the Government contracted to buy 44 per cent. of all output in readiness for the demand which would arise later. This enabled the company to keep afloat, though not yet to make a profit. We still had our troubles, some of which were due to top-heavy management, an irrational wage system and inefficient cost accounting.

In 1951 a joint production conference was held between Yungli's management and workers, with the participation of the Labour Bureau of the Tientsin Municipal People's Government, which has jurisdiction over the Tangku area. The management agreed to abolish the former division of workers into permanent, temporary and casual and to place them all on a regular footing with agreed wage rates. The workers, animated by a new spirit, raised output which soon reached 226 tons per day, the highest in all the 30 years of the plant's existence.

The cooperation between the State and the company became much closer when a contract was signed for the State trading agencies to market the whole of the product, guaranteeing Yungli a profit of 19 per cent.—4 per cent. higher than that currently obtained in the open market. Government investments enabled the plant to increase its equipment and to enlarge its housing and canteen buildings for workers. The first profits came in. Shareholders began to draw dividends again.

It was becoming clear that, in the interest of the nation, an industry so important should have a greater measure of State guidance and participation. The shareholders, management and workers of Yungli therefore approached the People's Government, asking it to enter into joint partnership. In June, 1952, after prolonged examination and consideration, the Ministry of Heavy Industry formally approved the proposal. Yungli came under the joint ownership of the State and the private shareholders, and government personnel entered the management.

This transition to State-capitalism led to rapid progress along many lines. A movement for safer operation was initiated by the workers, and over 2,000 proposals for greater efficiency were put forward by them. As a result, the accident rate in the plant was greatly reduced and productivity rose.

Administration was reorganised and the old division of responsibility between the management and production was replaced by a Plant Management Committee with undivided responsibility. The labour insurance system was put into effect, wages were adjusted on a fair basis, and more than 200 workers were promoted to be super-visors and foremen.

Now, under joint ownership, the Yungli soda plant at Tangku is producing three and a half times as much as during the Kuomintang regime. Costs have decreased continuously and profits in 1954 were over five times higher than in 1951. The 1953 dividend received by shareholders was 13 times the 1951 figure.

Yungli has trained over a hundred industrial chemists for other State enterprises and has in its turn been allotted a number of graduates from technical colleges for its own staff.

Many improvements in both management and technique are still to be made. But we can already say with pride that the plant at Tangku, after the long struggles it waged for survival in the desperate circumstances of the past, has become a pioneer in the industrialisation of China.

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## COMMUNITY PROGRAMME IN RURAL INDIA

**A**LITTLE over two years ago rural India, somnolent through ages, was awakened by the Community Development Programme. Started on a pilot scale, the Programme which a year later was merged into the National Extension Service, has now brought nearly one-fifth of India's total rural population within its orbit.

The people's participation in the Programme has been beyond official expectations and has disproved cynics who at the outset thought that the programme would not succeed. Statistics show that as against a total government expenditure of about £7,500,000 on all community projects and National Extension Service blocks during the first two years ending September, 1954, the people's contribution in cash, labour and kind amounted to nearly £3,750,000. In other words, people supplemented the Government's contribution to the extent of 50 per cent.

The spirit of self-help that has been aroused constitutes the largest single achievement of the Community Programme. But the problem of raising the living standard of nearly 300 million Indian villagers is not a job of the Government alone. No Government, however resourceful it might be, can tackle it single-handed. The First Five-year Plan aims at providing the fundamentals for rapid development. The multi-purpose irrigation and hydro-electric projects and hundreds of thousands of minor irrigation works that are in hand in the different parts of the country, are primarily intended to provide water to the cultivator and power for industrial development, whether it is rural industries or in large-scale industries in urban areas. But simultaneously, the people have to be aroused for community endeavour so that the governmental efforts can be effectively supplemented by their own. The Community Programme aims at such awakening.

An analysis of the causes of the people's enthusiastic participation in the programme indicates that the inspiring factors have been mainly two : (a) the practical nature of the programme in which the emphasis is given to those aspects of development which constitute the primary need in the rural areas and (b) its popular approach.

The programme is implemented in such a way that not only are the people made aware of the significant role that they can play, but it ensures that they also provide the initiative for development. It is only by allowing such initiative that interest can be sustained and further development work undertaken. In the project areas, establishment of village councils competent to undertake development work in the village is, therefore, of primary importance. Such councils have been established in many parts of the country. In some places the existing panchayats have been strengthened, while in other areas new organisations have been created. During the first two years of the operation of the programme nearly 9,000 village councils have been set up in different parts of the country.

Some of the highlights of the physical achievements during the first two years are :

Agricultural extension received a fillip in the projects. A drive was launched for compost making, nearly 12,000 tons of fertilisers and over 3,000 tons of seeds were distributed ; agricultural demonstrations were organised in nearly 300,000 farms and over 110,000 acres of land were brought under fruits and vegetables. Nearly 640 key village centres and animal husbandry breeding centres were started. In suitable areas fisheries are being developed.

Virgin lands were opened up and put under the plough. About 244,000 acres of land were reclaimed. In addition, 575,000 acres were brought under irrigation.

During this period, educational facilities were extended. Over 4,000 new schools were started, of which nearly 1,500 were converted into the basic type and more than 11,000 adult education centres were started.

In many areas villagers gave topmost priority to the development of communications. There was mass enthusiasm of a spectacular nature. A recent instance was in the Etah District of UP where every day thousands of people worked on a bridge at Dhumri. During this period, over 11,000 miles of roads were constructed, of which 846 miles were first class.

Cooperation received emphasis in the programme, and during

the first two years of its operation 4,469 new cooperative societies were started in the project areas.

In all these activities the people's contribution has been nearly half. Although the physical achievements so far are comparatively small in the context of the magnitude of the problem of rural development in India, they have helped in arousing a spirit of self-help among the people.

## INDIA'S LARGEST OIL REFINERY

**I**NDIA'S largest refinery at Trombay, near Bombay, costing Rs. 300m., went into preliminary production on February 1.

Full production will be achieved by the middle of this year.

This is the third refinery in India. The first was built at Digboi (Assam) 35 years ago to refine crude oil from an Assam oilfield discovered at the close of last century. Its capacity has now been increased.

Recently the Stanvac Refinery, also located in Trombay, went into production. Now comes the third with a refining capacity of two million tons of crude oil a year. When the fourth, to be built by Caltex, also goes into production, India will be nearly independent in regard to her petroleum products though crude oil will continue to be imported.

The two Bombay refineries will have a total output of more than three million tons per annum. This will include 500,000 tons of motor spirit, 255,000 tons of kerosene, 138,000 tons of high-speed diesel oil and 127,000 tons of light diesel oil, besides 667,000 tons of furnace oil and 150,000 tons of bitumen.

## WORLD BANK ON JAPAN'S AGRICULTURE

**T**HIS International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced last month that it has transmitted to the

Government of Japan the report of an agricultural mission that visited Japan from July to September, 1954. The mission went to Japan in response to the Government's request for an objective and disinterested examination of Japan's agricultural programme which might be of use in the consideration of future policy. The mission also studied specific agricultural projects which the Government felt might be suitable for Bank financing.

The report is primarily concerned with an appraisal of Japan's agricultural programme and potentialities. The mission is entirely justified in the high priority it is placing on investment to increase food production. The mission found that Japan's accomplishments in agriculture have been great. Despite these, her growing population will cause a serious deterioration in her food supply unless action is taken along new lines to fully exploit presently unutilised crop and pasture lands. These tracts amount to over 2m. hectares or more than 30 per cent. of Japan's presently cultivated area. The mission concluded that to accomplish this would require somewhat larger national expenditures for agricultural development, the employment of methods of large-scale land reclamation not presently followed in Japan, and increased upland irrigation, mixed farming and animal husbandry.

The report also discusses four projects which the mission felt might prove to be suitable for Bank financing after additional technical studies and organisational measures had been carried out. These projects are for the irrigation of upland and paddy fields in the Aichi Prefecture east of Nagoya ; for the reclamation of Hachiro Lake, a shallow lagoon on the Island of Honshu ; for the reclamation of peatlands in the Ishikari Valley in central Hokkaido ; and for pilot projects to establish methods of large scale mechanical land reclamation most suited to opening large areas to cultivation in Hokkaido and northern Honshu.

The report of the mission will not be published.

### UK EQUIPMENT FOR THAILAND AND BURMA

Matisa Equipment Ltd., London, have successfully tendered for the supply of a tamping machine to Thailand State Railways in August, 1954. Delivery to be this month. Furthermore, this company recently secured orders from the Thailand State Railways for Matisa Power Wrenches with Fishbolt Nut Adaptors and a Curve Calculator.

The 1954 Purchasing Mission from Burma have also accepted their tender for the supply of Matisa Power Wrenches fitted with Fishbolt Nut Adaptors to a total value of over £3,000. In the past few months this firm has supplied 2 Curve Calculators to Burma Railways.

### DENMARK'S TRADE WITH ASIA

	Denmark's Imports		Denmark's Exports	
	1954	1953	1954	1953
Burma	...	...	1,090	74
India	...	...	11,261	8,399
Pakistan	...	...	505	1,259
Ceylon	...	...	4,684	3,207
Thailand	...	...	8,349	3,994
Viet Nam	...	...	604	510
Indonesia	...	...	3,950	9,235
Philippines	...	...	41,048	7,612
British Malaya	...	...	10,260	9,417
China	...	...	1,914	14,464
Japan	...	...	6,035	26,828
Korea	...	—	—	895
Hong Kong	...	...	10,014	7,013
Australia	...	...	4,407	3,927
New Zealand	...	...	5,379	2,833

(All figures in 1,000 kr.)

### NORWAY'S PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

THE pulp and paper industry is Norway's greatest export industry and its products represent 25-30 per cent. of the country's total exports. While the bulk of the pulp exported by Norway finds its markets in Europe, exports of paper and board are divided among various areas, and South-East Asia represents an important market for these goods. In 1953 India's share of Norway's newsprint exports amounted to 10.4 per cent. (only Denmark took a higher share—of 11.3 per cent., while Western Germany's share amounted to 10.4 per cent. and that of Great Britain to 7.2 per cent.). Other types of paper are exported to South-East Asia, and India ranks third as buyer of Norwegian paper, only exceeded by Great Britain and Denmark.

The following table gives the development of paper and board exports to South-East Asia and the Far East. All these countries, with the exception of China, show an increase as against pre-war imports, and the 1953 figures were considerably higher than those of the previous year.

The Export of Paper and Board to South-East Asia and the Far East					
	1937	1950	1951	1952	1953
Burma	...	1,419	4,024	2,578	5,542
India	...	21,721	23,553	14,026	15,761
Pakistan	...	4,605	4,467	4,498	4,268
Ceylon	...	692	3,113	2,183	2,929
China	...	22,836	3,914	1,488	9,403
Hong Kong	...	3,534	11,641	18,107	5,342
Indonesia	...	3,515	1,043	1,793	1,926
Malaya/Singapore	...	4,679	4,539	3,571	2,508
Thailand	...	1,466	4,313	3,167	2,434

(All figures in short tons of 907.18 kgs.)

### FINLAND'S TRADE WITH ASIAN COUNTRIES

	Finnish Exports	Finnish Imports	
		1953	1954
China	...	1,248	1,521.8
Japan	...	713	315.9
India	...	836	736.4
Malaya	...	56	86.2
Indonesia	...	174	136.7
Ceylon	...	152	69.2
Pakistan	...	201	72.5
Thailand	...	90	41.6
Hong Kong	...	90	98.4
Philippines	...	67	1.2
Burma	...	36	16.8
Indo-China	...	23	12.8

(All figures in million Finnish marks)

### SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH SOUTH-EAST ASIA, THE FAR EAST AND THE PACIFIC

	Imports		Exports	
	January-October	January-October	January-October	January-October
Pakistan	...	22.8	1953	1954
India	.....	20.2	15.2	27.2
Ceylon	...	9.4	16.9	54.7
Burma	...	2.7	0.7	3.5
Thailand	...	2.1	5.3	4.6
Malaya	...	43.6	77.1	10.5
British Borneo	...	0.2	0.9	0.7
Indonesia	...	26.9	36.5	41.5
Indo-China	...	—	0.1	2.6
Philippines	...	9.6	1.9	4.6
China	...	5.8	7.4	13.2
Formosa	...	0.2	0.5	1.5
Hong Kong	...	3.8	4.2	15.3
Japan	...	60.1	40.9	53.4
Australia	...	62.0	52.9	76.9
New Zealand	...	7.6	13.6	17.3
British Oceania	...	0.1	0.8	0.1
French Oceania	...	1.5	—	0.1
U.S. Oceania	...	0.2	0.2	0.3

(All figures in 1,000 Swedish kroner)

### SWEDEN'S ASSISTANCE TO UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

THE Swedish organisation "Sweden Helps" is now carrying out its national drive for funds in aid of underdeveloped countries, principally Pakistan and Ethiopia. These two countries have been adopted as Sweden's special wards, but technical assistance will also be given to India. The drive was opened with a radio speech by King Gustav Adolf at the beginning of February.

Three million kronor are granted annually for this purpose by the Swedish Government, and the drive, which is sponsored by some 40 national organisations, is expected to net many times this sum. The Cooperative Movement, the Federation of Labour, the Federation of Employers and the Federation of Salaried Employees have donated the money necessary for the technical and organisational side of the drive. A very active secretariat is supplying informative material to the Press and the public on the population statistics and food supplies, voluntary parenthood, world economy and the role of industrialisation, social and health questions, education and technical assistance connected with these countries.

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A six-day radio drive with solicited musical programmes paid for by the requesting parties is expected to give good results, as has always been the case when relief actions have been given assistance on the radio. The Swedish cinemas will show films on help to underdeveloped countries free of charge.

The assistance to Pakistan will take the form of building and recruiting vocational schools, primarily for teaching small-industry technique. A school for building and joinery and another for giving training in the manufacture of ready-made clothes, mainly working clothes, are first on the programme. Additional measures include a health clinic, the drilling of wells, social schemes for youth and children.

Sweden's help to India has mainly taken the form of instruction for Indian veterinary surgeons. Nine veterinary surgeons from India and two from Thailand arrived in Sweden last September and are staying for a ten-month course in "animal gynaecology." The cost incurred in travelling and accommodation expenses, fees to the teachers, etc., are shared by Sweden, FAO and the Indian Government.

In addition to the above-mentioned, specific assistance already embarked upon, there will be separate schemes for infant and maternity care, spare-time occupation and improvement of housing conditions in Pakistan. It is hoped that the assistance volunteered by the many non-profit-earning, religious, political and labour organisations in Sweden will result in substantial sums being made available for improving the living conditions in those countries which are in need of "help to self-help."

## JAPAN'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SCANDINAVIA

*By a Tokyo Correspondent*

SCANDINAVIAN countries have had an appreciable influence on Japan through the medium of the literary works of Ibsen, Strindberg and Bjornson, and the musical works of Sibelius. Also, the name of Nobel, the world famous scientist, is a familiar one in Japan. Nevertheless, economic relations between Japan and Scandinavian countries cannot be said to be close. The main barrier would appear to be geographical; firstly distance, and secondly the lack of speedy and efficient communication. This latter barrier seems to be disappearing in view of improved air and sea services.

Japan's trade with Scandinavian countries assumed increasing importance in the 1930s. The outbreak of World War II, however, naturally caused a break in such relations. Subsequent to the war, efforts have been made

by both sides towards the strengthening of trade relationships, especially since the resumption and the development of Japan's overseas trade. Results so far have not, however, come up to expectations, as the proportion of Japan's trade with the Scandinavian countries is at the moment only 1 per cent. of her total overseas trade.

Of the four Scandinavian countries the connection with Sweden is probably the strongest and gives most hope for improvement. During the period January-October, 1954, Japan's exports to Sweden totalled \$6,570,000, textiles being the main commodity. Imports from Sweden, which included machinery and pulp as the most important items, totalled nearly \$8m. Swedish machinery has been of increasing importance in Japan's post-war economy, particularly from the reconstruction aspect. Swedish pulp has also assumed increasing importance in the rayon industry which is, of course, one of Japan's major export markets.

The other Scandinavian countries have a lesser connection with Japan from the trade aspect. From January-October, 1954, Japan's exports to Finland were rather higher than her exports to Norway and Denmark, but imports from Denmark exceeded imports from Finland and Norway.

Japan's trade with the Scandinavian countries in 1954 showed a decline as compared with 1953 and it appears necessary to make efforts to promote trade relationships between Japan and the Scandinavian countries, particularly in regard to the export of silk and cotton fabrics and the importation of pulp, machinery and dairy products. There are undoubtedly potentialities for development in the future.

Communications between the Scandinavian countries and Japan have, as already stated, improved, not the least notable being the improvement in shipping facilities, Danish merchant vessels entering Japanese ports totalled nearly 8 per cent. of the total of foreign vessels from January-April, 1954, ranking next to the United States and the United Kingdom, and strongly competing with Dutch and Panamanian vessels. An appreciable number of Norwegian vessels have also been recorded as entering Japanese ports during the same period.

It is the earnest hope of Japan that her relationship with Scandinavian countries should be cemented, both from a cultural and an economic point of view.

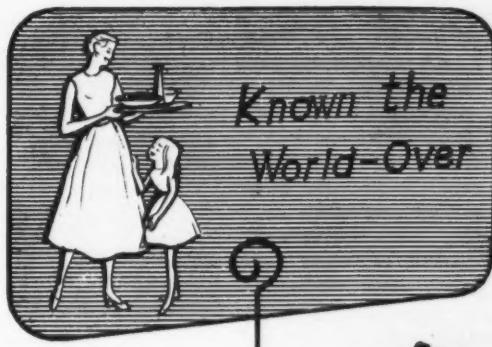
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## JAPANESE LEAF TOBACCO

With the revival of international trade after the war Japanese leaf tobacco has come back once more to the world markets, and, in 1952, export was directed to Egypt, Western Germany, United Kingdom, Syria and Australia. In 1953 Virginia Yellow leaf was shipped to Western Germany and Belgium, while native type "Matsukawa Leaf" and "Kirigasaku Leaf" were exported to Syria and Holland respectively.

Tobacco leaves for export are of two kinds : one is known as Japanese Virginia Yellow type, and another, the Native type, of which "Matsukawa Leaf" is meeting with a favourable reception abroad. It is most suitable for blending in cigarettes because of its light flavour which does not spoil the characteristics of ground material. On the other hand, Japanese grown Virginia Yellow leaf is suitable for blending in cigarettes as it has thin body, sweet and mild taste as well as elasticity.

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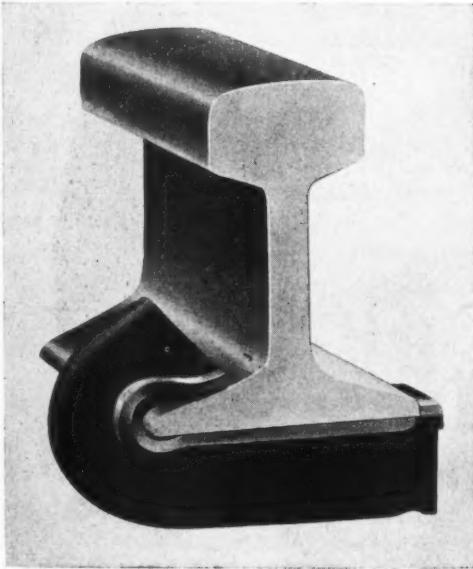
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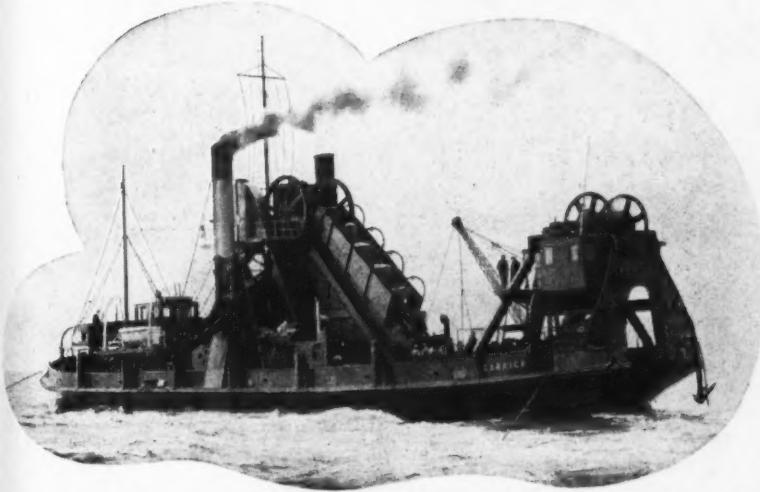
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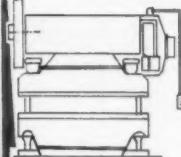


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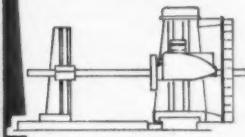
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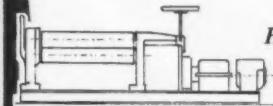
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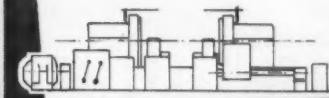
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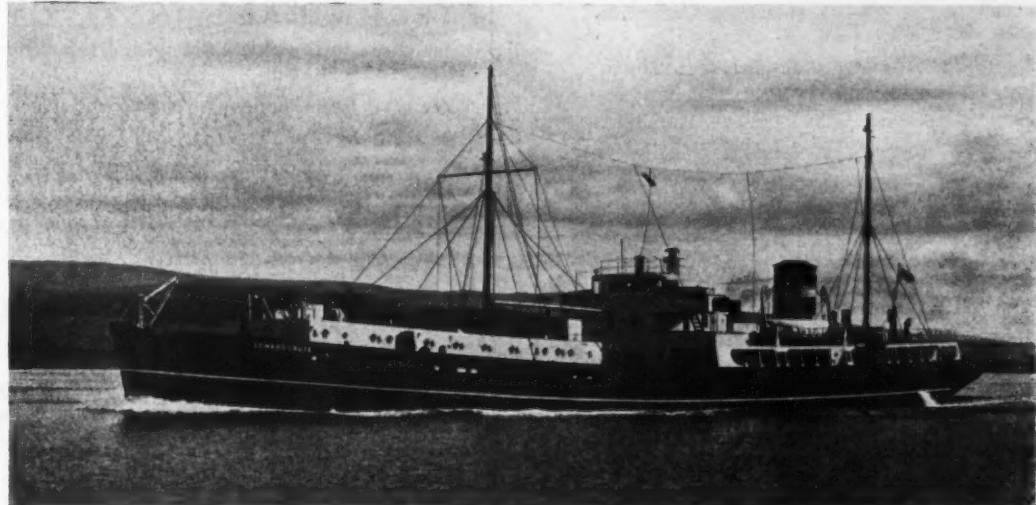
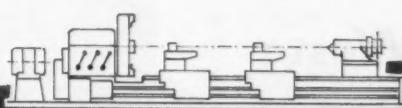

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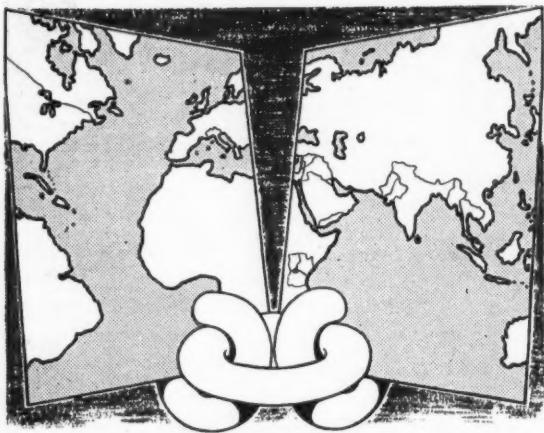


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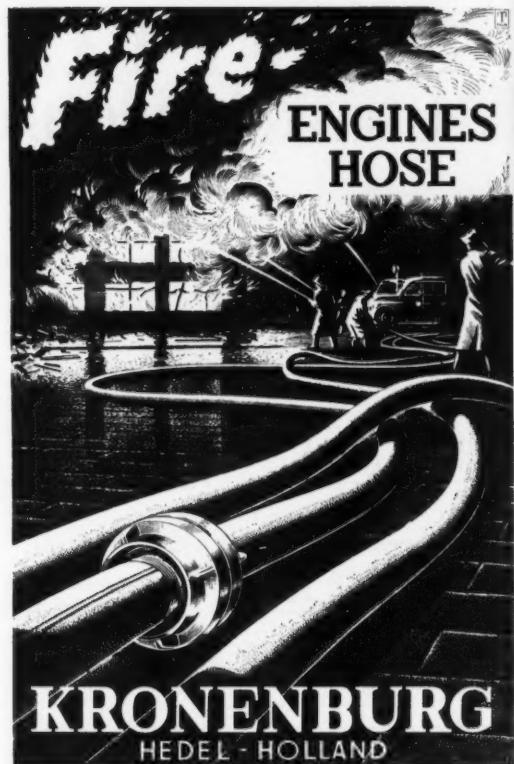
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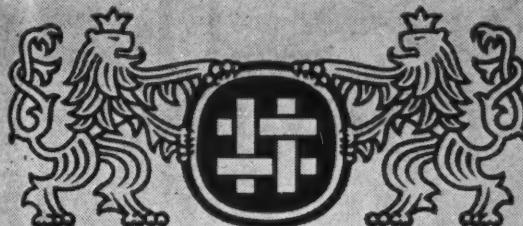
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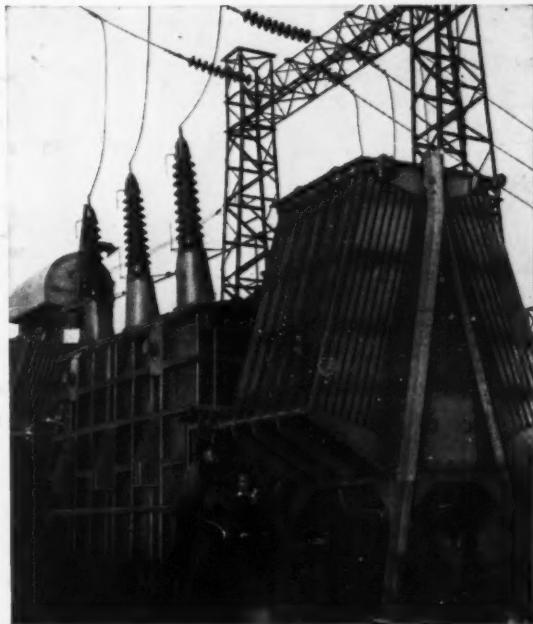
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